THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

"EDUCATION IN PERU : A CULTURAL APPROACH"

by

ANTHONY PAUL BURTON

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1970.

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Education in Peru: A Cultural Approach" submitted by Anthony Paul Burton in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education.

To Bibiana

ABSTRACT

Peru is not a new country. Civilizations have flourished in the valleys of its deserts and mountains since the time of Christ. Before Columbus, the empire of the Incas stretched three thousand miles from North to South. In colonial times, Lima was the centre of civilization on the sub-continent, boasting the finest buildings and the oldest university in the Americas.

Today, Peru is one of many partially developed nations. In part, its problems stem from the very strength of its traditions, and from the vitality of its cultural life. It is hard for a nation to cease being poor when it is also old and proud.

This thesis aspires to suggest ways in which education might assist Peruvian development during the next decade. Unlike many works on education and development, this study takes the way of life of the people of the nation as its starting point. If education, as is often maintained, is the transmission and transformation of culture, then it is only sensible to begin with the culture, rather than with the processes of transmission and transformation. Much of what follows is anthropological in character, but it is important, perhaps, to emphasize at the outset that the central concern of the study is with the conscious direction of cultural patterns and values, in other words, with education. It is a crucially important paradox that in order to discuss education profitably, it is necessary to begin by talking about culture.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF DIAGRAMS

INTRODUCTION

This study derives from, and reflects, my personal experiences during five years in Peru. I went to Lima in 1961 to take up a post in a Lima private school. I spoke no Spanish, and knew little about Peruvians and their way of life. When I came to leave Peru five years later, I left behind many close friends; I had learned Spanish; taught with and administered Peruvian teachers, and married a Limeña. I had become profoundly involved with the Peruvian way of life, initially as an observer and eventually as a participant.

I have tried in this study to put such experiences to good use. Many times during the thesis, I offer personal opinions and impressions of Peruvian life. Inevitably, this involves subjective biases, and I have tried to write in such a way that these may clearly be identified and allowed for. The degree to which such comment is supportive and useful may best be judged by the reader.

The study had profited greatly from the thoughtful comments and kind encouragement of Dr. Regna Darnell and Dr. David Wangler, to whom I am extremely grateful. The study was conceived, developed and brought to its final form in close consultation with Dr. Harry Garfinkle; his many suggestions have influenced my work in fundamental ways, and I am deeply appreciative of his patient and always constructive support.

Finally, I would like to thank Mr. and Mrs. Tom McGrath for their kind assistance during the final stages, and Señor Arturo Rocha Fernandini for the excellent and up-to-date statistical and other data with which he so abundantly supplied me.

CHAPTER I

SCOPE AND DESIGN OF THE THESIS

Since June, 1968, the military government of General Juán Velasco has been in power in Peru. During that time, important changes have been initiated, which will affect Peruvian society and culture at all levels. Some of these changes will be described in this thesis.

Even before the Junta seized power, Peru was in a state of vertiginous change. Because of this, even quite recent sociological and cultural studies of Peru may fairly be said to deal with circumstances which already belong to the past rather than the present. Some excellent microcosmic studies have been conducted in Peru during the past decade: there is, however, a strong need for studies which will deal with the national society holistically, and in some depth. Typologies of Latin American sub-cultures do exist, (Harris and Wagley, 1955, Beals, 1953) but are of limited usefulness. They are not recent enough to reflect existing realities, and they contain ambiguities, as will be seen.

This thesis aims to describe cultural patterns in Peru at the present time. As a heuristic device, I posit several groupings. These will be referred to from now on as Model Types. Each of these types is derived from data drawn from historical, ethnographic and other studies, and from my personal experiences during five years in Peru. (1961-66) The uses to which this experiece is put have been discussed in the Introduction, and will be returned to in Chapter VI.

The types are stated in general terms. They are intended to identify segments of Peruvian society. Although it is hoped that they will reflect empirical realities, they will not provide a one-to-one correspondence. The model types are heuristic abstractions, intended as postulates on the basis of which empirical anthropological researches might later be carried out . [1]

---

1. "When Redfield's critics pointed out that there were no actual societies with the particular characteristics that he ascribed the folk societies, Redfield was sufficiently imaginative to reply that, in this case, science develops as a dialectic -- the original thesis, the critical antithesis, and the synthesis." (Steward: 1963:419)

I have decided to use the term 'model type' in order to avoid confusion with the 'ideal type' concept which has been used by Redfield and Weber.

Redfield, in defining the ideal type concept which he employed in his Folk-Urban Continuum, wrote that it was his aim

> to seek through this method of comparison of differently affected communities, some general knowledge as to the nature of society and of its changes ... (The) conclusions are generalizations on many particular facts. The assertions are on the whole true. (Redfield:1941:342)

I will offer this as a working definition for the model types to be used here. My concept differs from that of Redfield in two ways: I have chosen to embed my definitions in historical explanations in order to show how such groups came to be formed; secondly, I emphasize much more than did Redfield, the need to modify such types by subsequent testing and research. It is important to stress, as Redfield did, that such types can be at best only 'on the whole' true. When applied to empirical circumstances, they will inevitably be modified, and may need to be redefined.

The model types are organized by means of nine descriptive categories. These are:

i. Physical Setting.
ii. Group Members.
iii. Forms of Work.
iv. Social Organization.
v. Patterns of Interaction.
vi. Leisure Activity.
vii. Socialization Processes.
viii. Contacts with the External World.
ix. World View.

In some instances, two or even three of these categories are subsumed into one, and in other instances, one or more categories are omitted. Generally, however, the model types include all nine categories. Each category is intended to operate within the limits established by the preceding one or more categories, but no attempt has been made to enforce this as a rigid procedure.

Even a brief inspection of the categories listed will show that the descriptions of the model types are strongly ecological in character. By this I mean that the cultural patterns to be described are seen as strongly affected by the relationship of each model type to processes of production, which in turn derive from the physical setting. While emphasizing that this approach has been consciously chosen, it should be understood that no theory of economic determinism or cultural materialism is intended to underlie such a method.

At this point the reader may wonder whether such an attempt to depict reality by means of an abstract typology can succeed in expressing the dynamic character of cultural phenomena. In the Peruvian case, this is of crucial importance, since Peru is undergoing such rapid change in this respect.

In order to account for such change, I employ another conceptual device, which I have called 'Impetus to Change'. In tracing change through historical time, I have thought it desirable to divide time heuristically into segments, and to isolate in these segments the factors which have had most to do with bringing about change. The model types may thus be seen as descriptions of sub-cultural groups located at arbitrarily-halted points in time. The Impetuses to Change are accounts of the historical and economic factors which have caused the situation expressed by one set of model types to change, leading to a new set of model types. This is expressed diagrammatically in fig.1. (p.5). This may be seen as a map of cultural change.

The first point in the model is Impetus to Change I: This refers to the Inca Conquest of the Andean and Pacific coastal region, which reached its apogee with the death of the Inca Pachacuti in 1471. If a comprehensive account of culture change in Peru during the past five hundred years was

the object of this study, Impetus to Change I would be followed by a set of model types depicting Inca culture and society from 1471 until the next Impetus to Change. The object of the thesis, however, is to portray such phenomena in the present rather than the past: thus, the first Impetus to Change is followed by a section in which the character of life in the Inca Empire is briefly sketched, in terms of the categories which will be used later for the model types.

This is followed by Impetus to Change II, which deals with the Spanish Conquest of 1532. The effect of the Conquest was to create a society in which two ethnic groups existed, the Spaniard and the Indian. A section following Impetus to Change II is devoted to descriptions of these two groups, and is organized into the categories used for the Inca Empire above.

A MAP OF CULTURE CHANGE FOR PERU

Fig. I.

Impetus to Change I : The Inca Conquest (1471)

⋮

The Inca Empire: Some Explanations

⋮

Impetus to Change II: The Spanish Conquest (1532-1581)

⋮ ⋮

The Spaniard ..... The Indian

⋮

Impetus to Change III: The Coming of the Republic (1581-1821)

⋮

Model Type I : The Creole Elite
Model Type 2 : The Andean Peasant
Interstitial Types: Contaminated Peasant Communities
Migrant Labour
Yanaconas
Mestizo

⋮

Impetus to Change IV: Peru from 1821 - 1968.
The Industrialization of Peru

⋮

Model Types in Modern Peru

i. The Campesino
ii. The Rural Marginal
iii. The Rural Proletarian
iv. The Urban Marginal
v. The Urban Proletarian
vi. The Middle Class
vii. The Oligarquia, (and other elites)

⋮

Impetus to Change V : The National Revolution (1968 - to present)

⋮

Possible Outcomes of the present situation

Since early colonial times, a third ethnic group had begun to emerge in the Virreinato. The Creole, or indigenous white, became increasingly important in colonial life, in terms of numbers, and of position in the power structure. The factors which led to the emergence of this group, its contention for, and ultimate seizure of, political power, are dealt with under Impetus to Change III, The Coming of the Republic (1581-1821).

The society of Republican Peru at the time of its inception is then depicted in terms of two model types, the Creole Elite and the Andean Peasant. The national society at that time also contained other elements, which I have named Contaminated Peasant Communities, Migrant Labour, and Yanaconas. These will be defined in Chapter II. Since in my opinion these groups have no equivalents in modern Peruvian society, I have preferred to consider them as 'Interstitial types' rather than as 'Model types'.

The elements in Fig. I. which have been described thus far, are dealt with in detail in Chapter II of this study. Chapter III begins with Impetus to Change IV, which traces those events and factors which, since 1821, have led to the formation of modern Peru. This section ends with the coming to power of the present government, in 1968.

Seven model types are then presented, which treat of what are conceived to be the main cultural groups in modern Peruvian society. These are listed in Fig. I, and discussed in Chapter III. Each model type is considered in terms of the nine categories previously mentioned.

The final Impetus to Change discusses the policies and actions of the present government. Since we are now as close as possible to the actual present, it is obviously difficult to steer a course between fact and surmise. Because of this difficulty, the following method has been adopted. The final Impetus to Change begins by dealing with verifiable data. It is followed by a series of postulated outcomes to the present situation. In the text proper, (Chapter IV) these are evaluated, and the most likely direction for the future is suggested.

The central purpose of the thesis is to use the cultural analysis which has just been outlined in order to assess Peru's educational needs in the future, and to make suggestions for education on the basis of such cultural understandings. Chapter IV thus closes with an addendum to

Impetus to Change V, which aims to assess likely directions for education in the future, on the basis of what is known at present.

Chapter V examines the present state of education in Peru in detail. After a preliminary discussion of the themes of education and development, the system of formal education in Peru is described. Facts do not tell the whole story, and in this case the facts are often either inadequate or even in some cases contradictory. However, it is important to separate verifiable data from impressions and value judgements. Thus the next section (Chapter V), offers comments of the latter type. In both sections, the education system is discussed at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels.

In Chapter VI, the model types proposed for modern Peru are re-examined, this time in the light of educational needs. In each case, an attempt is made to locate some main areas of difficulty and propose remedies. The thesis closes with a summary of these suggestions, and some recommendations for further research.

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The writing of this thesis has involved wide reading in a number of areas, as the extensive bibliography will indicate. Without attempting to comment on particular works in detail, I will indicate the sources which have been of most assistance to me, and discuss others which seemed of relevance. I will organize the discussion into sections dealing with particular themes.

HISTORICAL SOURCES

I relied heavily on Bushnell for my treatment of Pre-Colombian culture, and also found the Handbook of South American Indians invaluable. For the sections dealing with colonial and republican times, much use was made of Pike's excellent history of Peru, and the work of Picón-Salas; the latter is of particular interest in that it is written from the inside; it is written, as the publishers rightly put it, 'with passionate objectivity'. I have argued previously that many of the studies of Andean culture published by anthropologists during the past thirty years or so have been given a historical character by the rapid changes which have taken place in that region. With this in mind I rather diffidently place the work of such anthropologists as Beals, Nash, Sol Tax and others in this section. While they have all been very useful in different ways, one is led to wonder whether in emphasizing the dual character of Peruvian culture such studies have taken sufficient note of the complexity of Peruvian life. The juxtaposing of urban, Spanish-speaking mestizo and rural, Quechua-speaking Indian has for many years now ceased to reflect empirical realities, as Aguirre Beltran, in assessing such studies has pointed out.(1966)

CONTEMPORARY PERU: CULTURAL STUDIES

I have not found any recent studies of the Andes or of Peru which deal with cultural patterns macroscopically, which is perhaps an oblique comment on directions in cultural anthropology during the past decade. A number of microcosmic studies exist, and these were utilized where possible to support my descriptions of contemporary model types. In

particular, the work of Nuñez del Prado, Mangin, Dietz, and W.F. Whyte may be mentioned.

By far the most useful general source in this area was the work of Quijano Obregón, a Peruvian sociologist whose extensive use of statistical data I found of great help. Quijano, like the Mexican sociologists, Casanova and Stavenhagen, is strongly Marxist. American anthropologists who deal with Peru seem to be generally apolitical, if that is possible. I have noted frequently during the course of my readings that the latter tend to confine themselves to the area under study, whereas the former tend to relate cultural and sociological matters to such economic factors as internal domination by international investment. As an example of this, it is interesting to compare the studies by Simmons and Quijano of the Peruvian middle class. I may also mention the study of agrarian reform in Bolivia by Heath, Buechler and Erasmus: the possibility that rural areas in Bolivia might be seen as disintegrating hinterlands of a dependent urban-centered economy is not entertained at all in this study, whereas to Quijano et al., it is the point of primary importance.

DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION

I met the same trend in this field. Many works on development and education either ignore or summarily dismiss Marxist interpretations of development, and stress instead the stages which must be reached in order that 'backward' nations may arrive at a fully developed capitalist level. The possibility that a non-capitalist form of development might be a viable alternative is almost never considered. Adams & Bjork, for example, allot two pages out of 158 to comparing the theories of Marx and Rostow, while Curle, and Harbison and Myers do not mention Marx at all. Quijano, Stavenhagen and Casanova do not mention Marx either, but their orientation is clear. All three see development in terms of the domination of under-developed economies by the United States and international interests.

The work of Harbison and Myers is frequently mentioned in works on development and education. I have discussed this work in Chapter V, and will only observe here that I found it useful for the attention it gave to cross-national factors, and for the convincing connections it made between degrees of development and the incidence of certain kinds of

education. It was also the most cross-ideological work I found in this field: by this I mean that examples of nations from all over the world were compared. The grounds for comparison seemed specious at times, as I will exaplain, but at least these writers are freer than most from what I may best describe as mono-ideological attitudes.

CONTEMPOARARY PERU: GENERAL

I have been fortunate in having had access to Peruvian newspapers and journals throughout the writing of the thesis. These arrived regularly, in such profusion that it would be inconceivable to list them. I may mention 'La Prensa' and "El Comercio', the two leading dailies, as well as 'Caretas', 'Oiga', and other news magazines. In addition to these, I was able to examine a number of official and unofficial documents concerning government policies and decrees. Three of these, dealing with agrarian reform, university legislation, and educational planning, are reproduced whole or in part in the Appendix section of this thesis. Finally, copies of studies made by Peruvian social scientists, unpublished in North America, were available to me.*

A number of informative articles have appeared in the North American press, dealing with events in Peru. I have utilized these in the writing of Impetus to Change V, and in the sections on education. I may refer in particular to the 'Wall Street Journal' and "New York Times', to articles by James Petras in 'Monthly Review', and to news items in the weekly 'Latin America'.

---

* I will repeat here my grateful indebtedness to Sr. Ingeniero Arturo Rocha Fernandini, for his kind assistance and interest in this thesis.

Many full-length works exist which describe the Peru of the recent present, but most of these are travelogues which have no serious use. I found three works useful: '<u>Peru</u>', by Owens, '<u>Man and Land in Peru</u>', by Ford, and '<u>Peru in Four Dimensions</u>', by David Robinson. The latter work deals fully with a variety of themes, and provides much unusual information which would otherwise have been impossible to come by.

EDUCATION

Works on Education and development tend to treat education in the limited sense of manpower training. I have tried to avoid such reductionist thinking by returning often during the writing of the thesis to general writings on education. I could cite innumerable influences here, but will mention only the following writers: Brameld, Henry, Kneller, Spindler, and Margaret Mead. While there are important differences between each of these writers, they share a common interest in cultural perspectives in education.

EDUCATION IN PERU

Information on Peruvian education was not easily come by. Harbison and Myers include Peru in their consideration of what they term 'partially-developed nations': while much of their comment is generally relevant, the statistics on which their assumptions are based are drawn from sources a decade old. The '<u>World Survey of Education</u>' was of limited use to me for the same reason. However, since this publication does contain excellent factual descriptions of Peruvian education at all levels, I have included excerpts from it in the Appendix section. Much of my information for this area was drawn from documents obtained from the Peruvian Ministerio de Educacion. I also made use of the writings of Havighurst on education in Brazil, and of studies conducted by Gouveía, whose findings on value-orientations among Brazilian teachers correspond to my personal impressions of those of Peruvian teachers.

METHODOLOGICAL INFLUENCES

I have previously acknowledged my great debt to the various writings of Robert Redfield. The model employed in this thesis is also in part derived from the ideas of Neil Smelser, who constructed a sociologically-oriented model of culture change derived from the ideas of Marx, Malinowski and others. The notion that culture change may be explained with the help of arbitrary division of Time into static and dynamic segments was suggested by Smelser's model, as was the use of such devices as the 'Impetus to Change' and historical parameters for such studies.

I have said that I do not wish the approach employed in this study to be identified with theoretical positions in Anthropology: I would, however, wish to acknowledge the influence of Julian Steward's ideas on culture change. It is clear that the ecological emphasis implicit in this thesis owes much to the cultural materialist school in cultural anthropology.

---

* All of the above works are listed in the bibliographical section. I provide here a list of the writers mentioned above, with the dates of works referred to.

F. Pike: 1967
M. Picón-Salas: 1962
G.H.S. Bushnell: 1957
G. Aguirre Beltran: 1966
O. Nunez del Prado: 1955
W. Mangin: 1960
H. Dietz: 1967
W.F. Whyte: 1969
A. Quijáno Obregón: 1967
O. Simmons: 1955
P.G. Casanova: 1968
R. Stavenhagen: 1968
D.B. Heath: 1969
D. Adams & R.B. Bjork: 1969
F. Harbison & C.A. Myers:1964
A. Curle: 1963
T.R. Ford: 1955
R.J. Owens: 1963
J. Petras: 1970
D. Robinson: 1964
Wld. Survey of Ed.: 1961
R. Redfield, et al.: 1953
N. Smelser: 1968
A. Gouvéia: 1967
R. Havinghurst: 1967
J. Steward: 1959

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF PRESENT PERUVIAN CULTURE PATTERNS

IMPETUS TO CHANGE I: THE INCA CONQUEST. (1471 - 1532).

The Inca dynasty is estimated to have settled in Cuzco at about 1200 A.D. For the first two centuries after this settlement, the Inca seem to have been involved from time to time in plundering raids and minor wars with neighbouring tribes, but there were no permanent conquests. Only after the Inca had defeated a rival tribe, the Chanca, in the first part of the fifteenth century, did the Inca empire begin with the crowning of Pachacuti. In 1471, Pachacuti resigned to his son a dominion which stretched over 380,000 square miles.

> 'All opposition, even that of the Chimu on the coast, fell before the well-disciplined Inca host. The defeated armies were usually incorporated into the ranks of the imperial forces. To offset the possibilities of rebellion, tribes were often settled into new areas, and others drafted into their place. Conquered nobles ... entered the ranks of the Inca nobility, and were educated in the Inca way of life.' (Owens: 1963:18)

The Inca

i. Physical Settings: 'The coastal valleys of Peru, the high valleys which seam the western slopes of the *cordillera*, and the rather bleak and arid plateau which is now known as the Altiplano.' (Osborne: 1968:23)

ii. Group Members: 'Like most Peruvian highland Indians, the Inca were short and stocky, averaging about 5'3" in height, with broad shoulders, and the deep chests associated with a people who live in the rarefied atmosphere of the high Andes ... The coastal people were similar in appearance, but slighter in build.' (Bushnell: 1957:116)

From among the many differing estimates considered in 'Handbook of South American Indians', I will prefer the figure of six million as the most likely population of the Inca Empire at its height.

iii. Forms of Work: 'It was a civilization based on agriculture: semi-tropical fruits and root crops in the hot coastal valleys maize and other cereals in the highland valleys, and potatoes and quinoa on the high plateau. The llama, the alpaca, the guinea pig and the duck were domesticated ... Specialized agricultural techniques were developed, including large-scale irrigation systems and terracing.'
(Osborne: 1968:23)

Osborne adds that mechanical processes of production in the crafts were brought to a level which has been surpassed nowhere in the world before the age of machine manufacture.

iv. Social Organization: 'The word 'Ayllu' denotes the groups into which most Andean tribes were divided. The Ayllu appears to have been a kin group, an enlarged family or group of families, with descent in the male line. The Ayllus were grouped into provinces ... and the provinces in turn were grouped into the famous four quarters of the Empire.'
(Bushnell: 1957:124)

v. Patterns of Interaction: Little is known in this respect. It is clear that members of the Ayllu worked long hours, and their festivities were heavily structured. Cooperation among equals and unquestioning obedience to superiors was certainly typical.

vi. Leisure Activity: Festivals were associated with each of the twelve lunar months.

Preparation for a festival consisted of

> 'fasting from certain foods and from sexual intercourse, and the ceremonies themselves chiefly took the form of processions, sacrifices and dances ... Human sacrifices were practiced, but only in serious crises and on very special occasions.'
> (Bushnell: 1957:132)

vii. Socialization Processes: Although women had care of children much of the socialization in the Ayllu came from the community. Children worked from an early age. Roles were thus learned by involvement in the affairs of the community, whose norms were rigidly prescribed by the Imperial administration.

viii. Contacts with the External World: The imperial communication system of runners and road networks ensured that Ayllus were kept in contact with Cuzco. Ayllu members did not have contact with the world outside the community, except through the visiting overseers and literati. Male members, however, were conscripted into service in the army and the mines, which brought them into contact with other parts of the Empire. The Inca Empire had no enemies until the arrival of the Spanish. It was bordered largely by the sea and the jungle.

ix. World View: Creation and the origin of human being seems to have been commonly ascribed to a creator-god, and connected with a deluge myth. The heterogenous character of beliefs within the Empire, due to its size, and to the variegated character of the conquered cultures, makes description in brief terms impossible.

IMPETUS TO CHANGE II: THE SPANISH CONQUEST. (1532 - 1581)

The story of how Pizarro, with 180 men, was able to place an empire of six million Indians under his control has been told many times. In 1543, eleven years after Pizarro captured Atahualpa, the first Viceroy reached Lima.

> 'However, it was not until the arrival of the fifth viceroy, Francisco de Toledo, who governed from 1569 to 1581, that the viceregal system was established on a firm and reasonably well-functioning basis. Around the viceroy and his attendants, living in opulence in the magnificent Lima palace which was begun by the city's founder, there developed a social life that was more refined, elegant and ostentatious than that of any other area of South America.' (Pike:1966:25)

The way of life of the Inca Empire was changed in many ways. We may attempt to isolate the most important of these changes. Firstly, patterns of land tenure were disrupted. The Crown, concerned to protect the existing man-land relationships, appointed 'encomienderos' ('encomendar'= to trust), to oversee the Indians. Quite soon after conquest, however, these encomienderos came to regard the lands in their charge as private estates, and the Indians as retainers.

Secondly, the Catholic Church spread into rural areas, forcing the Indians to adopt the faith, and imposing upon the Ayllus the cofradia or sodality systems of Spain, which in Peru as in the rest of the continent have come to be known as the Cargo system. Kubler argues in 'The Handbook of South American Indians' (1959:185) that the Cargo system was not widely diffused before 1650. There is some evidence to the contrary. Thirdly, the agrarian base of society was increasingly undermined as the Spaniard concentrated on precious metals. For the extraction of these, slave labour was needed, and the Mita system of the Incas, which had been an organized conscription of labour for prescribed periods, became a form of slavery under which the Indian was oppressed and often, literally worked to death.

> 'From the first the Spanish conquerors were interested mainly in gold and silver. Everything else tended to be ignored in a scramble to obtain as much of these metals as was possible in the shortest possible time. Power was used harshly, and Indians who had once believed the Inca to be ominipotent now bowed to the will of the conquerors. The colonists soon acquired absolute control of the land and the Indians who worked it. Disobedience was savagely punished by men to whom the Indians were often nothing more than superstitious savages, doomed ultimately to hellfire, and meanwhile fit only for enforced vassalage in field or mine.' (Owens:1963:26)

I have previously explained that the way of life of Spaniard and Indian will be briefly considered at this point. I need to explain that although 1532 is given as the date of conquest, the cultural life of the colony could not be said to have assumed any on-going form until some years after conquest. With this in mind, the two sets of explanation which follow are located at about the year 1581, by which time the fifth viceroy had established the colony along definite lines.

The Spaniard

i. Physical Setting: The Spaniard was intensely urban-centered. Even when awarded country estates, he swiftly became an absentee landlord, spending most of his time at his Lima residence. Lima during early colonial times has been described as

> 'a town of medium size, situated on a hill where the Rimac flows. The streets, some of them paved, are straight and wide, and intersect each other on the chess board plan dear to the first builders of the Spanish Empire. Irrigation channels lead down from the top of the hill that dominates the city and, carried by aqueducts in the form of vaults, transport the water intended for watering the streets and gardens. A stone bridge crosses the Rimac in the middle of the town, which is surrounded by a green belt that adds splashes of shimmering colours.' (Descola:1968:76)

ii. Group Members: May of the conquistadores and their descendants took Indian wives. Distinctions were made from the first between *blancos* from Spain and those born in Peru. The native *blancos* were termed creoles. Half-breeds were called *mestizos* or *cholos*. Finally, negroes

were present in Lima early in colonial times. These tended to be more closely associated with the household than were the Indians.

iii. Forms of Work: Spaniards tended to fill the most important positions in the church and government bureaucracies, as well as the military commissions. A small group of merchants formed a guild, (consulado) which monopolized much of the trade and commerce on the sub-continent. The Mestizo had not yet emerged as a significant group.

iv. Social Organizations: We have seen that the peninsular and indigenous Spaniards shared social supremacy.

> 'As the criollos (creoles) prospered, the social stratification split once again, wealthy, well-bred criollos feeling themselves superior to the less sucessful criollos who derived from the fortune-hunting adventurers. All criollos were superior to the mestizos, who included every shade from nearly white to almost Indian. At the bottom of the social pyramid were the mass of the Indian population and the imported negro slaves.' (Owens:1963:34)

v. Patterns of Interaction: Since this will be dealt with in depth later in this chapter when the Creole elite is considered as a model type at the time of Independence, I will say little here. The interactions of the creole elite clearly were almost inseparable from those of the Spanish. Males were autocratic and mobile, women were submissive and kept indoors. Servants and children were treated with an often strict paternalism. The criollismo which came to be the distinctive elite culture of republican Lima had not cleary emerged at this time.

vi. Leisure Activity: Church festivals and processions, bullfights and cockfights, were present at this time. In terms of day-to-day leisure, the Paseo, or promenade on foot, and the tertulia, a form of casual and often prolonged conversation in the shops of the city, may be mentioned.

vii. Socialization Processes: In addition to the socializing aspects of some interactions referred to in (v.) above, the influence of the Church

and of the general Lima atmosphere, may be mentioned. The Spanish Catholic Church was very powerful as a socializing agent at this time, both informally, and formally through strict schooling, and through the Inquisition, which came to Lima in 1570.

The gentle, dry climate of Lima encouraged the Spanish tendency to pass a great deal of time out of doors in the streets of the city. The streets were filled with food vendors, many of them negroes. I would argue that the mingling of classes and ethnic types which took place may be seen as an important socializing situation, in which interactions could take place that, while not transgressing the barriers thrown up by class and ethnicity, led to the emergence of elements which would come later to typify a truly indigenous mestizo culture in Peru.

viii. Contact with the External World: Urban communities at this time were concentrated in river valleys, on the coast and in the Sierra. Beyond such valleys the world of desert or mountains was alien and hostile. Few ventured far from the towns unless in the service of Church or government, or to visit their encomienda estates. The only other points of contact with the external world were Spain and the other colonial cities of South America. These were remote, and few colonists would have made such journeys. The link with Spain, however, was symbolic rather than physical, and with the coming of Toledo, this link was immeasurably stronger than it had been during the chaotic years after conquest.

ix. World View: It would clearly be an exercise in absurdity to try to sketch the world view of the Conquistador in a few words. Suffice it to say that the societal triad of priest, civil servant and soldier, the only occupations fit for a Spaniard of honourable birth, found expression in the clusters of values which are indicated by the phrase, 'God, Gold and Glory.'

The Indian

Whereas the Spaniard is treated of only once in this study, the Indian is examined in depth several times, in the sections on the Inca Empire, the Andean Peasant, and the Campesino. Thus I will here consider briefly the ways in which the life-style of the Indian was altered in the years following the Conquest. (i.e., up to 1571.)

i. Physical Setting: This changed only in the sense that the Indian was displaced from those favoured areas coveted by the Spaniard as urban sites.

ii. Group Members: The Indian population was rapidly and drastically reduced by conquest. This has been traced to the flight of many Indians to remote districts, and to the high death rate in the mines and at unaccustomed altitudes.

iii. Forms of Work: Many Indians continued to work the land under their chiefs. (Curácas) Others were forced into service on the encomiendas, which became in reality country estates of the Spanish elite. The Inca Mita was replaced by the Spanish system of forced labour. Also, many Indians became servants in Spanish households. Late in the sixteenth century the number of this group, known as Yanaconas, had to be controlled by legislation.

iv. Social Organization: Ejidos, or communes, were permitted in many areas by the Spanish, and in these the homogeneity of the Inca Ayllu continued during this period. In the encomiendas this was less so. Generally, the Indian after conquest was the least significant of several ethnic groups, whereas under the Inca there had of course been no other such group.

v. Patterns of Interaction: Spanish perceptions of the Indian during this time vary greatly, so that the reaction of the Indian is hard to guage; the Indian seems, however, to have reacted sullenly and with suspicion to his conquerors, while among his own kind he seems to have continued to show cooperation and trust.

vi. Leisure Activity: If the argument that the Cargo system did not become widespread until after 1650 is accepted, there is no reason for assuming that patterns in this category had altered much by 1581.

vii. Socialization Processes: The conversion of the Indians to Christianity had not taken place widely at this time. (Bushnell:1957:137) In societies where disruption of the kinds described above had taken place, it may be assumed that the forms of socialization which existed in the static, communal ayllu, had broken down partially or completely. New agents, the priest and the administrator, had come into the Indian's existence, but these were not regarded by the Indian as authorities sanctioned by his gods. The strain that resulted from this situation is suggested by the tenacity with which the Indians persisted in their traditional acts of worship.

viii. Contact with the External World: The external world had now come to the Indian. The latter, however, had in many cases been prompted by conquest to greater mobility, as the comments on Yanaconas above may indicate.

ix. World View: Only a few Indians resisted Spanish rule. It may be assumed that the death of Atahualpa, implying as it did the fallibility of the central Inca deity, created a mood of shock in which Spanish missionaries were able to work with great effect. Osborne (1968:37) asserts that from the early years of Conquest, local mythology and legends were conflated with and coloured by the missionaries teachings.

IMPETUS TO CHANGE III: THE COMING OF THE REPUBLIC (1581 - 1821)

The Declaration of Independence in Peru was part of a movement which embraced the entire hispano-american world, and reflected the historic changes which took place in Europe during the preceding half century. Long before Spain was forced to abandon her colonies, however, forces of socio-cultural change were taking place at the highest levels of colonial society. Of these, the most significant was the growing strength of criollo elements among the colonial elite.

For much of the colonial era, the criollo, although he participated in the power structure, did so on less than equal terms with the Spaniard. In a society which was basically feudal in its cultural patterns although capitalistic in its economic structures, (Vitale:1968) the Criollo gained increasing power through involvement in trade and commerce. In this respect a parallel may be suggested with the French Revolution, which was as much as anything a conflict between the nobles and clergy, groups based upon privilege and land wealth, and the emergent bourgeoisie.

This movement took place throughout the sub-continent. In Peru, however, it was less marked than elsewhere.

> 'In the newer parts of the Colonial Empire, the American-born elements did not run into the wall of an upper class so tightly bound to the monarchy as in Peru and Mexico, nor did they contend with the dead weight of a long-established administration bolstered by the passive attitude and wretchedness of huge Indian masses.' (Picón-Salas:1962:150)

An interesting paradox is observable here. One view of the gaining of Independence suggests that it came by external intervention and pressures, and would not otherwise have occurred:

> 'Lima was after all the old centre of the centralized Imperial government, and many of the rich peninsular and criollo landowners enjoyed special privileges and granted by the Crown. For these moneyed classes, whose wealth was daily increased by the labour of their Indian slaves, life was easy, elegant and enjoyable, and that they should respond less ardently than others to the call for revolution is hardly surprising.' (Owens:1963:36)

On the other hand, a crucial ferment in values and attitudes was taking place among creole elements in Lima as elsewhere. This was reflected the great influence of the Englightenment in Lima, the cultural capital of the hemisphere.

> 'If every period fashions its own human archetype, an archetype that embodies its passions and ways of feeling and seeing, it may be said that, in the most representative creoles of this era ... restlessness, and an active satirical discontent were the common intellectual and spiritual symptoms beyond individual differences. In the emerging dream of a free and prosperous America, the mordant sarcasm by which the old ways were assailed was similar in effect to the enthusiasm with which the newest utopian ideas were hailed. A passionate fervour regarding the future and a caustic condemnation of the past existed side by side in individuals of such rich, if at times contradictory lives as those of the precursors of our independence.' (Picón-Salas:1962:150)

The discussion may be summarised by asserting that Criollo thought during the years preceding Independence was typified by a general wish for change and improvement, but this often failed to apply in certain instances of which Peru was one. That a ferment in ideas, an enthusiastic embracing of the new scientific approaches to natural and social phenomena, and a rejection of Spanish Catholic clericalism and scholasticism were prevalent is beyond doubt. Such desire for innovation, however, did not extend into political and economic spheres, for reasons that have been suggested above.

Thus 1821 marked the ascendancy of the indigenous over the peninsular elite, but altered little else in society. We may assume that the Spanish were either recalled, or remained in Peru without possessing the old privileges.

Without wishing to deal prematurely with areas to be covered in the section on the fourth impetus to change, it should be pointed out that nominal independence led to a vacuum in which for fifty years no civilian elite emerged with power enough to rule, so that waves of military despotism succeeded each other until Pardo came to power in 1872.

Thus far, this section has considered changes which at the time had little repercussion at other levels of society than the elite. We may

look at some ways in which life had changed elsewhere in society since 1581.

Firstly, we may point to the emergence of the Mestizo or Cholo.

> 'The half-breed played an important role in the city. It was he who made up the majority of the urban populations. He was soldier, craftsman and priest.' (Descola:1968:30)

Secondly, the effects of prolonged colonial rule on the Indian may be considered. Whereas in 1581 the influence of the Church was only beginning to be felt among the Indian sector, by Independence the Spanish priests and missionaries had imposed Catholic beliefs and practices in many parts of the Sierra as well as the coast. Few communities were free from such influences, but it seems possible to make a distinction regarding the degrees of Church influence. The Cargo system is a criterion for this distinction.

The Cargo system obliged members of ayllus to finance festivals on the Catholic feast days which had come to replace the monthly Inca public religious ceremonies. This was a form of direct acculturation, since the Cargo system was really a hispano-American form of the Spanish cofradiá , or sodality. Such fianancing rotated among members of the community. It was an index of status, and although various interpretations exist, it seems generally agreed that the system acted to decrease homogeneity and cause a degree of social stratification within Andean communities. Indians who assumed such Cargos were often obliged to leave their communities afterwards, and spend two or more years working in mines or on plantations to repay their debts.

In many areas, the influence of the Chruch was less strong, and the Cargo system failed to obtain. Thus in the schema of model types which is to follow, I have used the presence or otherwise of the Cargo system to differentiate between the Andean peasant, and the contaminated community. I do not mean by this to imply that the majority of Indians were not thus 'contaminated'. It should be made clear that the treatment of the 'contaminated community' as an interstitial rather than a model type implies that whereas the Andean Peasant is a lineal descendant of the

Inca Indian, and a forerunner of the diminishing but existent indigenous campesino communities of the present time, the interstitial 'contaminated Indian' had clearly undergone fundamental changes which differentiate him from his Inca forbears. It may be objected that true as this is, it is the latter rather than the Andean Peasant who is the real ancestor of the modern campesino. Telling as this argument may appear, I will object to it in this way. I regard the 'contaminated' type as peculiar to the period betwen Spanish conquest and modern times. The modern Indian is little affected by the Cargo system: if he is 'contaminated' or acculturated, it is by specifically modern phenomena such as mass media and the rural urban community.

Redfield employed the term 'Universal Oikoumene' to refer to the phenomenon of the Industrial Revolution and its effects. He used this as a dividing line, arguing that urban communities before this time often expressed the 'Little Traditions' of surrounding peasant areas in the form of what he called a 'Great Tradition', whereas after the Universal Oikoumene, urban centres represented quite different 'Great Traditions' which did not subsume the peasant 'Little Traditions'. I will argue that the acculturating influence of the Church, although it did not subsume the 'Little Traditions' of the peasant, was nevertheless quite different qualitatively from the acculturating influences of modern agencies. In short, my organization of model types for this period and the present is not accidental: it is intended to avoid establishing continuities which are more apparent than real.

I have regarded the Mestizo as an Interstitial, rather than a model type, for somewhat similar reasons. It may be argued that the Mestizo who had already by 1821 come to form a majority in urban areas, should be regarded as a model type, since he is the forerunner of the present middle class. I reject this assumption. The modern middle class is made up of several elements, nearly all of which emerged after Independence.

> 'Previously these people were drawn from the provincial landowning sectors as these began to decline, and from diminishment in the core of urban middle class people that the economic recovery brought about in the middle of ninetheenth century. Nowadays, the middle class is also recruited from the rural and semi-urban bourgeoisie, the skilled working classes, and from the previously existing urban middle class itself, which probably constitutes the greatest number.' (Quijáno Obregón:1968:134)

This comment may seem to support objections to my argument as much as it supports the argument. In answer to this, I will make two points. Firstly, the population of Lima in 1755 was 54,000.(Descola:1968:35) It cannot have grown very much by Independence. Later, I will argue that private schooling is a sector over which the middle and upper classes today exercise virtual closure. The enrollment in private schools in 1970 is estimated over 340,000 by the Ministerio de Educacion. I take these figures to imply that the modern middle class is composed for much the greater part of elements which have not derived from the Mestizo in 1821, and thus prefer to de-emphasize such continuities by treating this as an interstitial type.

I apply the same logic in the case of the Yanacona. The servant class in modern Lima certainly is composed of first generation migrants from the sierra. An argument could be made for the case that the Yanacona of 1821 is the ancestor of the urban proletariat of today. However, I have found no evidence to justify this.

The effect of Spanish rule on the colony is hard to summarize, since there are strong positions for and against the conquerors:

> 'It is only fair to state that the viceroys had no reason to be ashamed of their stewardship when they handed over this fragment of an empire turned republic to the libertadores. Indeed, if we take up a position midway between the leyenda negra and the official Spanish thesis, if we stick to the practical achievements, we cannot deny that they were very real. The kingdom of Atahualpa, in the form that Pizarro had captured it, was still very rudimentary and static, in spite of the ingenuity of Inca socialism. It was organized and disciplined, but also feeble and apathetic. By imposing on Peru an entirely new style that it was to keep until the contemporary period, two centuries of Spanish rule had transformed it into a powerful and prosperous colony.' (Descola:1968:54)

MODEL TYPE I: THE CREOLE ELITE

i. Physical Setting: Basil Hall, an English naval officer, described Lima in 1824:

> 'Everything speaks of past splendour ... At the top of the road there is an approach a mile in length, between two double rows of fine trees - public walks and elegant stone benches now being all in ruins and choked up with weeds and shrubs. The principal entry is through a triumphal arch, tawdry and falling to decay, with the crown of Spain mouldering on top.'
> (Hall:1824)

The churches, Hall wrote, made a fine effect from the distance, but on closer inspection turned out to be 'very tawdry structures.' Owing to the frequent earthquakes, buildings were generally of brick and adobe, with the upper storeys of lighter construction. Houses, or casas, grouped in sixes or fours, formed manzanas separated by streets or calles. Each face of each manzana was called a cuadra. Several manzanas formed a barrio, and several of these formed a distrito or cuarta.

The centre of Lima was the Plaza de Armas. Here were the palace, the cathedral and the palaces of the elite. The streets were narrow, with streams of refuse running down the middle. It seldom rains in Lima. Thus each town house had its balconies and wooden mirador, a carved screen through which the street could be observed, and the dust from the street kept out.

Once a week there was a market. On the far bank of the river Rimac was the neighbourhood of the urban poor, known as 'Bajo el Puente'.(under the bridge) Eight miles from Lima were Miraflores and Chorillos, watering places on the barren Pacific coast.

Lima is set in an irrigated valley in the midst of an arid desert. For much of the year, it is shrouded in a peculiar, milky mist. At about 1800, Unanue published a remarkable work,'Observations on the Climate of Lima',

in which, using the ideas of Montesquieu, he argued that the social psychology of the Limeno could be related to the peculiarly enervating effects of the climate.

ii. Group Members:

> 'There were creoles and creoles. Those who from their youth had been brought up in the cult of tradition and pride in their ancestors, and who were required to produce, in order to be admitted to the college of nobles, proofs of purity and blood which individuals requesting entry 'must produce', considered themselves more Spanish than the Spanish.'
> (Descola:1968:26)

Mention must be made of the Limeña, the woman of Lima. Travellers in the eighteenth and nineteenth century have paid frequent tribute to the legend of the original and piquant charm, the coquetry and gentle beauty of the Limeña.

iii. Forms of Work: The creole elite lived a cultivated and leisurely existence. Many were absentee landlords of provincial haciendas. Mining had declined, and during the last part of the colonial era, criollos had taken up importing and growing many of their own foods and cereals, and had established industries to produce textiles, metalwork and furniture; in addition,

> 'sugar and cotton were cultivated and proved valuable exports, tobacco grew well, and trade developed with other countries. By the beginning of the nineteenth century the Spanish monopoly was, in fact, and had been long in practice, a dead letter.'
> (Owens:1963:35)

Owens suggests that one reason for the criollo involvement in entrepreneurial activity was the inflation caused by the export of bullion, and the high prices caused by the distances goods had to travel.

iv. Social Organization: The Creole elite did not differ in this respect from the Spanish. As the Spanish practice of using the paternal and maternal

surnames implies, maternal lineage was of considerable importance, although the male enjoyed considerably superior status and authority, and property was transmitted patrilineally. Strong endogamy towards members of lower-status groups was practised, and this was done through such devices as Bride Price; there must have been many exceptions. In the writings of Ricardo Palma, (whose stories of Republican days are a mine of information) there are frequent examples of true love surviving such obstacles. Compradazgo, or fictional kinship, was a central institution: this signified not only the duties of godfatherhood, but extremely close bonds between males. No loyalty was stronger than that between true 'compadres'.

v. Patterns of Interaction: Woman's place was in the home:

> 'The wives and daughters of the upper class were supposed to remain shut up at home. Having little to do besides pray to the saints, their minds were occupied with dress and flirtation.' (Peck:1958:148)

Ladies of the upper classes were obliged on leaving the house, to wear the tapada, a shawl which was

> 'designed to shield them from the eyes of men, but they made of it a provocative disguise.'
> (Peck:1958:148)

The criollo male was scrupulous in observing the formalities even in his roles as husband and father. In interactions outside the home, he

> 'was content to stroll through the streets in the centre of the capital. He leant against the shops for hours at a time, stared out the young ladies, and lavished compliments of varying degrees of polish on them. He hailed the passers-by he knew, gossiped with some, argued with others, and sometimes followed a tapada, although he never left the space comprised between the Calles de los Mercaderes and los Portales. Often, too, he went into the shop of someone he knew and engaged him in an interminable conversation.'
> (Descola:1968:249)

The paseo was a daily event. In the Alameda, a shaded walk,

> 'aristocratic ladies went out in their sedan chairs or in carriages to receive the attentions of caballeros on horseback. Tapadas of less noble family crossed the river Rimac, where groups of young men waited to stare at them or toss them bold compliments.'
> (Peck:1958:159)

vi. Leisure Activity: Since most interaction was also a form of unstructured leisure, distinctions here are impossible to make. Bullfights, cockfights, processions and the yearly carnival were more structured activities. Generally, the elite took their fun in the presence of the other members of society, but carefully maintained their apartness. Many young bloods, however, went over the Rimac to the houses and taverns of the lower classes. These mataperros, as the creole blades were called, performed the dances and recited the verses which had arrived from Spain and France; through such interactions, the class criollismo of the elite was diffused to other sectors of urban society, where it acquired the characteristics of viveza (artfulness) and picardía,(rascality), which differentiate the criollismo of today from its original form, and from other syncretic variations of mestizo culture.

vii. Socialization Processes:

> '... it was easier to bring up boys than girls. When very young, boys were put into colleges where vigilant and inflexible masters were responsible for their education. Pedagogical methods were extremely harsh. 'Only the bravest children could stand up to them'. But when they left college, these children were considered to be men.'
> (Descola:1968:111)

I have often listened to my father-in-law describe the strictness of his upbringing. From what I know of his antecedents, I could assume that his father, as a boy, must have been nurtured under norms which were typical of well-born criollo families during the first half of the last century.

The strictness of the schoolroom, therefore, must be seen to reflect the authoritarian attitudes of fathers at this time.

I will make two impressionistic observations now which are open to dispute, perhaps, but which seem crucial to the theme. I suspect the term 'authoritarian' in the English language may convey nuances of coldness and lack of personal interest to some. I have been struck by the fact that Peruvian fathers in good families are strict and yet very responsive and loving towards their children. I attribute this in part to the powerful influence of machismo in Peru, then and now. In a society where sex roles are so differently defined, deviance is taken very seriously. Effeminacy and homosexual tendencies are regarded with scorn, tinged perhaps with anxiety. This is true of most societies, perhaps, but markedly so in Latin cultures. Thus I trace the autocratic attitudes of father to such anxieties. Even in republican Lima, there were outlets for homosexuals. The newsheet Mercurio Peruano commented at the end of the eighteenth century:

> 'An excess as monstrous as that of the men known as maricones would be scarcely credible if these phenomena did not meet the gaze at every step.'
> (Descola:1968:171)

It is of course arguable whether the relief of anxieties in this regard, given the highly differentiated sex-roles of Republican society, was an element in paternal authoritarianism.

Secondly, there can be no doubt that servants assumed a large responsibility for the socializing of the young. I see in this another explanation for the re-diffusion upwards of the proletarian versions of Criollismo. The visits of young men to the poorer quarters have been referred to. I am suggesting that the sins, if that is the word, of the fathers were visited upon their sons in this way.

Little attention seems to have been paid to the upbringing of girls:

> 'The education of young women could not have been more absurd. A little sewing, some notions of washing, plenty of cooking, and not even a suspicion of social life. Some old man, an intimate friend of the family, and the reverend confessor, were the only men they saw.

> A large number of them were not taught to read for fear they might learn sinful things in forbidden books. If some of them managed to spell out 'The Christian Year' more or less fluently, they were not allowed to trace their cramped writing or incoherent scribbles on paper, for fear that they might exchange some correspondence with their admirers as time went by. Did a young man come to visit the master of the house? The young ladies flew from the drawing-room like doves at the sight of a sparrow-hawk. Which did not stop them, of course, from making a detailed examination of the visitor through the keyhole. They protested against paternal tyranny, for after all had God not made them for men, and vice-versa? So they all had a frantic desire to get married, aggravated still more by the ban on speaking to men.'
>
> (Ricardo Parma:1946:44)

viii. Contacts with the External World:

Whether the external world is taken to mean that beyond Peru, or non-urban Peru, the comments made for the Spaniard of colonial Peru continued to obtain. Cultural forms such as fashion, music, and the dance, continued to be diffused from Spain and France. The intellectual life of Lima was remarkable, and although this was dependent upon Europe, from which large consignments of books continued to arrive, Lima was itself by this time a seminal influence of the new ideas. Several of the larger provincial sities, Arequipa, Trujillo, Cuzco, possessed a vigorous cultural life semi-autonomously from Lima. To the Creole elite, the rest of their nation was an alien hinterland, differing geographically and ethnically and culturally from their own existence, and visited only under duress.

ix. World View:

The influence of ideas of the Enlightenment cannot be overly stressed. If Picón-Salas is right in his appraisal, and Pike certainly supports his view, intellectual curiosity and a belief in the new science were general among men of the elite. A growing nationalism, and a feeling of confidence

in the qualities of their caste, also existed. These traits must, however, be incorporated into a view of Lima as the centre of existence, and of a society with rigid norms and social systems. While the society was governed at the top by wave after wave of *caudillos* in the half-century after independence, it remained static in most other respects. The mores dictated by the Church continued to have a powerful influence on cultural life even though the scholasticism and clericalism of the Spanish had suffered important setbacks, as we have seen. As a central theme, I would stress the hedonistic character of the society. Work to the *Criollo* was a means to an end: it was anything but a good in itself, as it became in North America. The *Criollo* existence was largely structured around leisure pursuits. The *Criollo* culture, with its themes of *gracia*, or style, *picardía* and *viveza*, and its emphasis on complexes of material traits, music, dance, dress and cuisine, clearly reflects the values of a leisure class, in a literal sense. We see in the *Criollo* elite of this period a pure delight in the pursuit of pleasure far removed, for example, from the grim materialism of Galsworthy's characters: an element of Tolstoy and Turgenev, perhaps, and distinct echoes of Alexandria.

MODEL TYPE II: THE ANDEAN PEASANT

Little change in the Indian's way of life took place as the result of Independence. However, a great deal had changed since 1581, as we have seen.

Here it is necessary to return to discussion of the model type concept. The Andean Peasant model type is intended to include those indigenous elements whose way of life had not been greatly affected by colonial rule. By 1821, this was obviously a much smaller group than in 1581. Indeed, it is not possible to point to many Indian groups which had not undergone acculturation. However, as I have already pointed out, the distinction between what I have termed Andean peasants and 'contaminated' Indians is one of degree. I am assuming that the Cargo system is an index of such acculturation. Where this did not take hold, I argue that although missionary activity did take place, it was passively but firmly resisted by the Indian, who insisted on his own beliefs and way of life.

In defining the Andean Peasant, therefore, as a group which for the most part resisted acculturation, I clearly make it impossible to describe such a type in terms which do not repeat conditions described for peasants of Inca times. Thus I will not undertake to consider the Andean peasant in terms of the categories I have used elsewhere. Instead, I will offer some remarks to account for this break in procedure.

The Spanish rulers had deliberately protected certain indigenous groups by legislation. Since the object of this was to avert change, I have not considered this legislation under Impetus to Change headings. In 1754, the Royal Instruction created _reducciones_: these were villages controlled and protected by the Spanish, in which traditional exploitations and social systems were allowed to persist. Village pastures, or _dehesas_, and municipal lands, _ejidos_, were also established. These were not innovations, but confirmations of a situation which already existed. The Church, particularly the Jesuits, had been instrumental in bringing

about such protection. In the next Impetus to Change, we shall see how the coming of Independence was to change this situation. For the present, however, it is assumed that a group existed which had altered little through colonial times. It should be remembered that the description of the Indian in 1581, (p. 20-21) was not a model type, but a general description applied to all indigenous elements at that time. This group is now differentiated for 1821, so that the Andean Peasant is but one segment of that group. Without, as I have said, examining categories in detail, I am suggesting that the Andean peasant model type was little affected by Spanish rule. Such people lived in the same places and worked in the same ways as they had two hundered years before. Their social organization, and aspects of their culture implied by my other descriptive categories, had also changed little. In their contact with the external world, I will suggest that the presence of the Church cannot be ignored, but was largely resisted. The major change that had taken place was that these elements were greatly reduced. To examine the effects of colonial life on the Indian, we must turn to the 'contaminated' Indian.

INTERSTITIAL TYPES I: THE 'CONTAMINATED' INDIAN

The Hacienda System as it existed until recently, was developed during the last part of the nineteenth century onward. It may be traced back, however, to the encomienda practices previously described, and to the actions of the corregidores, crown officials charged with 'correcting' the abuses of encomienda, who usually exploited the Indian further, and made large fortunes in so doing.

These Indians remained tied to the land, but in a servile capacity. They no longer owned their lands communally, but functioned as tenant-farmers, sharecroppers, or non-wage estate labourers, under contracts which usually redounded to the advantage of their masters or landlords. They usually retained their settlement patterns, but their involvement with land exploitation had altered in character. Because of this, their social organization had become stratified and fragmented. The Cargo system obtained in such communities, and also acted to decrease social homogeneity and disrupt the Indians' link with the land by forcing them to migrate in search of wages to pay their cargo debts. It has been suggested by Harris that the cargo system was a form of deliberate economic exploitation, in which the Church collaborated. The various studies made of the Cargo system throughout Spanish America suggest that it took various forms.

This group had grown during colonial times, and by Independence represented a large segment, possibly the majority, of the Indian population. It would be possible to argue for a subdivision of the group, in which Indians who held land under contract would be separated from non-wage plantation labourers, or peones. I have decided against this, on the following grounds. I have characterized this group as linked to, but no longer owning, the land, as having experienced social differentiation, and as having come under the influence of the cargo system: these qualifications apply to all the groups I have described. The plantation labourer did come to differ from the tenant-farmer, as the plantations

became incorporated and rationalized. This had not taken place by 1821, although embryonic forms did exist. In insisting on 'pure' heuristic divisions I may well be ignoring specific empirical realities: however, I am organizing such data on principles of what is 'on the whole' true. It is for historical research to clear the lines, and it is safe to say that historians of this period are far from agreement on such issues.

INTERSTITIAL TYPE II: THE MIGRANT LABOURER

The insitution known as the 'Mita' has already been defined as a form of pressed labour by which the Indians were sent to the mines for one year, although they were often unable to return to their homes after that period. The Mita was a specifically colonial institution, although I have not been able to locate proof that it did not continue into republican times.

Mining had declined by the end of the eighteenth century, but it is reasonable to assume that in 1821, many Indians were at work in the gold, silver and mercury mines. Their lot was extremely hard. They were literally worked to death.

Migrant labour was also employed in the textile industry:

> 'The lot of the Indians working in the mills for weaving cloth was (even more) distressing. Shut up from dawn to dusk in unhealthy premises, they often died of privation, their tools in their hands, for lack of the care of which they were deemed unworthy.' (Descola:1968:49)

This type did not establish a way of life that endured into the future. Migrant labourers were slaves. Their social forms if such a term may be used, were minimal. They worked until they died. They have no modern equivalent. The modern hacienda labourer is the closest type, and derived from other circumstances.

INTERSTITIAL TYPE III: THE MESTIZO

By 1821 a group had emerged which was racially mixed, and which formed a majority in urban areas. The Mestizo was neither elite nor peasant: neither was he a slave. Some problems arise with regard to this type.

Although Descola stresses the role of Mestizos as an emergent entrepreneurial group functioning below the elite, Pike (1967:21) holds that

> 'by the late eighteenth century the sierra region had acquired in addition to its Indian population a large number of Mestizos, while the coast had become a negroid area.'

These are open contradictions. I have not been able to locate sources which would throw more light on the issue. I will assume that a Mestizo group had emerged by 1821, and that it was in time to form one of the groups which came to comprise the urban middle class.

INTERSTITIAL TYPE IV: THE YANACONA

Yanacona means servant in Quechua. On the landed estates, Indians and Mestizos came to hold privileged positions as overseers and house servants. In the coastal cities, as has been suggested, it was the negro rather than the Indian who went into household service. Descola suggests that this was due to legislation: the Negro, and also mulattoes, Zambos, and other negroid variants,

> ' were not allowed to carry arms or live other than under the guardianship of a master, so that men resulting from such mixtures, who are mostly vicious, do not cause troubles and do damage to the kingdom.'
> (Descola:1968:34)

In such terms was a viceroy of the eighteenth century advised with regard to negroes.

A case could be made for the Yanacona as a forerunner of the modern urban proletariat. The latter is not predominantly negroid, and the assumption does not seem warranted on any grounds.

CHAPTER III

MODEL TYPES IN MODERN PERU

IMPETUS TO CHANGE IV: THE REPUBLIC (1821-1968)

At the time of Independence, the Peruvian economy had hardly progressed beyond the primary stage. Some developments in transportation and the beginnings of a factory system had developed. The national economy, however, was largely based upon agricultural exports, and the burgeoning guano industry. Mining declined after 1800, and did not revive until later in the century.

As we have seen in the preceding section, this economic state of affairs was reflected in a national social system which comprised:

(i) an oligarchic, increasingly creole, elite which did not form a civilian power group capable of seizing and holding power for fifty years after Independence,

(ii) a large Indian population, which existed in communes, on plantations, or as migrant labour,

(iii) an emergent mestizo group, which became the urban servicers, and estate administrators,

and

(iv) a negroid group, which was urban-centred, employed as servants and craftsmen.

By 1968, this society had differentiated greatly. The economy had spread into the secondary and tertiary sectors. The Criollo elite and the communally involved Andean peasant persisted. In addition, other groups had emerged in response to economic change, which were only tangentially related to previous interstitial types.

These were:

(i) The Urban Proletariat, factory and service industry-employed, enjoying peculiar union and welfare privileges,

(ii) Urban Marginals, who had migrated to cities and towns from peasant communities, and struggled to gain a foothold in urban life,

(iii) Rural Proletarians, who worked on the rationalized sugar and cotton corporation farms, and in the mining and oil enclaves, under unionized, hierarchical conditions,

and

(iv) the Middle Classes, who were involved in administrative and servicing capacities in the increasingly industrialized urban centres, particularly the national hub, Lima-Callao. In addition, the existence of a transitional, rural marginal group, may be indicated.

The purpose of this section is to isolate the factors which led from the former to the latter state. In order to do so, it is necessary to stress the economic dependence which has increasingly typified Peru since 1821.

> 'The most determining factor in the history and the present situation of Latin American society, and in Peru in particular, is its position of dependence on the international capitalist market. Thus, the whole history of the development of this society can be considered largely as the history of successive modifications of this relationship of dependency. Once its colonial dependence had broken down, Peru immediately became dependent upon capitalism. We will first have to specify the type and the form of these relationships as they existed during our post-colonial history. Throughout its colonial period, Peru suffered from the effects on the world market of the expansion and consolidation of capitalism, and the shifts and displacements of power among the European centres of this system. In the same way, each period of post-colonial Peruvian history can be regarded as being directly related to the changes and tendencies of international capitalism. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century there have been three forms of definite dependence: (i) financial and commercial interests during the nineteenth century, dominated by Britain: (ii) agricultural, mining and financial interests since the First World War, dominated by the United States, (iii), industrial and financial interests, relatively recent, also dominated by the United States.'
>
> (A. Quijáno Obregón:1967:292)

Casanova, (1968) has shown how United States control of the tertiary sector has been sufficient to ensure Mexico's economic dependence, even though Mexico controls virtually all other areas of its own economy, which is more than can be said for Peru. I use this example to cut through the need for lengthy historical justification of what is really a simple proposition: namely, that dependence has assumed an accelerating character in Peru, so that the last of Quijáno's three stages is much more crucial in explaining contemporary conditions than are the previous two. Historical omissions may also be justified on the grounds that for most of the nineteenth century, Peru prospered on the guano industry, which virtually collapsed, and then became involved in wars and prolonged depression. It could be argued that previous impetuses to change have stressed historical and cultural forces to change, so that emphasis here on economic factors reveals a lack of consistency in heuristic practice during this thesis. Such an assertion fails to account for historical developments adequately. Economic forces have not previously loomed large, but they have been presented as agents to change: they now dominate, because this last impetus to change deals with the post universal oikoumene period,* during which technology, economic development, and industrial proliferation have utterly altered the character of society.

From 1845 until 1867, the Caudillo Ramon Castilla dominated Peruvian public affairs. In a period when no civilian group could hold power, Castilla ruled for most of the time: his autocratic rule gave stability, while the guano and nitrate deposits replaced mining as a source of national prosperity.

---

* Redfield took 1750 as a point in time after which the expanding effects of the industrial revolution increasingly altered the character of societies.

The death of Castilla was followed by a period in which these sources of prosperity collapsed, a ruinous war was fought with Chile, and a severe economic depression ensued. As a result of these happenings, towards the close of the century, foreign, largely British and French, bondholders, became involved in mining, railways and the sugar and cotton farms on the coast. This is the first phase referred to by Quijáno. Out of it came the building of the railway into the mining centre of the Andes, and the beginnings of rationalized, neotechnically operated corporation farms and mining enclaves.

The second stimulus came with the presidency of Leguia, who ruled from 1919 until 1930. Leguia set out to attract investment in order to develop Peru. With the swelling of government coffers that ensued from prosperity brought about by renewed investment, Leguia launched out into a grandiose program of public works as a result of which Lima came to assume its modern character.

> 'It was during the oncenio* that United States investments came to eclipse those of Britain. By 1925, the Cerro de Pasco Corporation was conservatively estimated at fifty million dollars. Also, the International Petroleum Company, a Standard Oil subsidiary, came into possession of the rich oil fields of La Brea y Parinas. Facilitating the IPC acquisition was a 1921 tribunal award, confirming the questionable claims of the old London and Pacific Petroleum Company on the vast territory it had begun to exploit in the late nineteenth century. With its rights confirmed, London and Pacific disposed of its concessions to the IPC ... Between 1918 and 1929, Peru's foreign debt rose from approximately ten to one hundred million dollars. Peru obtained nearly all of its foreign loans from international banking concerns in the United States ...'
> (Pike:1967:228)

The third wave of investment came in the years following the Second World War. In 1940, 64.3% of the economically active population was involved in the primary sector, and 16.8% in the tertiary: by 1961, the primary had dropped to 51.9%, and the tertiary had grown to 27.3%. The secondary had dropped very slightly. (A. Quijáno Obregon:1968:297).

---

* Oncenio: i.e. the eleven years of the Leguia regime

Stated differently, these changes in investment and manpower distribution indicate an increase in commercial and financial activity and services, and a growth in manufacturing in the cities, accompanied by a decline in agriculture. By 1964, Peru was exporting 70% of all agricultural products, while during the six years after 1960, food imports trebled in value.

The effect of these developments on socio-economic life has been great. It is, in fact, the sudden acceleration of such economic trends and their effect on socio-cultural patterns in Peruvian life, which lies behind my earlier assertion that studies of Peruvian culture made even a decade ago have been rendered obselescent by events.

Firstly, the view of Peru which asserts that two main socio-cultural groupings exist, had become blurred in early republican times, if not before, the mergence of what I have termed 'Interstitial Types': by 1968, such paradigms bore little correspondence with reality.

Secondly, it is possible to link the new groupings I postulate to the economic trends I have described. The oil and mining enclaves and the sugar and cotton farms became corporately, rather than privately-operated during the time of Leguia: thus the growth of the 'Rural Proletariat' coincides with the rationalization of these enterprises which began then.

The emergence of the 'Urban Proletariat' can be traced to the growth of a small sector of society involved in trade and light industry, which expanded into the secondary sector, also under Leguia. The era of the Leguia regime also saw the rise of the Aprista party, under Victor Raul Haya de la Torre, a dynamic leader and intellectual who formulated an "indegenistica" marxist theory, based upon Latin American cultural conditions. It was the growth of Apra which led to the formation of strong labour unions in the enclaves and among the industrial urban proletariat. Thus the response to investment was as formative in a socio-cultural sense as the investment itself.

The growth of the middle classes is also clearly related to expansion of the tertiary sector. I know of no population figures for middle class growth, but would assert from my own experiences and conversations while in Peru that this group has burgeoned within the last one

or two decades. Settlement patterns and value-orientations appear to confirm this. The older middle class, which derived from earlier urban elements but also from the collapse of small hacienda units during the twenties and thirties, lives in the traditionally 'decent' areas, such as Miraflores: newer elements, who have often emerged within a generation from proletarian or other antecedents, live in newer suburbs, or in suburbs which a few decades ago were less well regarded than they are now. (i.e. Pueblo Libre, Jesús María).* This growth has been brought about by the growth in recent years of commercial, banking and other service activities.

The stagnation and decline in Andean agriculture has had several effects. Of these, the most obvious has been the enrormous increase in migration from rural to urban area, leading to the formation of a definite urban marginal group. A decline in agricultural prosperity has meant that Indians connected with the land, whether as peons, tenant-farmers or sharecroppers, have been forced by the decrease in their replacement fund' (Wolf:1966) to migrate to the towns and the cities, where their lot, however miserable, was preferable to life as a peasant in the disintegrating sierra economy. Whether the communal peasant communities which I have termed 'Andean Peasant' were equally affected, is not known. It seems likely, however, that with a decreased ceremonial fund due to the declining influence of the Church and hence the Cargo system, and with a replacement fund less affected by external economic forces than is the case with other rural groups, the Andean peasant may have found himself in a less vulnerable position than other Indians.

In the schema of model types which follows, two groups have yet to be related to these Impetuses to Change. The Oligarquia have been radically affected by changing economic patterns. Members of this group, it will be remembered, derived their income in earlier days from personally-owned estates. In the twenties and thirties, members of the Oligarchy who ran sugar and cotton plantations, sold out their investment to corporations. In many cases, such persons formed their own corporations in order to profit from Peruvian laws of inheritance. In either

---

* For graphic illustration of this, See Appendix Section IV, page 205.

eventuality, the effect of such acts was to bring the oligarchy into closer contact with the city, where its members became involved in commerce and finance. Owners of haciendas in the sierra which could not be adapted to corporate ownership, have also tended to hedge their bets by increasing involvement in city finance and commercial activity.

Generally, the Oligarquia's economic autonomy has been encroached upon by investment patterns until today, its members may truly be described, in Quijáno's terms, as a 'dependent', but still extremely powerful, bourgeoisie.

I have postulated a further group, which I term the 'Rural Marginal': this group derives from the same origins as the 'Urban Marginal', but has not made the full transition to the large city. In many cases its members remain in the provincial urban community, where they may manage to establish roots.

MODEL CULTURAL TYPES IN MODERN PERU

Preliminary Discussion

The typology which follows is intended to reflect empirical reality in a way which is 'on the whole' true. The divisions are cultural; that is to say, they should not be assumed to indicate social stratifications or divisions within the national power structure; these are considered, but in some cases I have grouped elements which a sociologist interested in social strata might have wished to separate, and in other cases I have separated elements which may in many respects resemble each other, on the grounds that such division reflects sub-cultural differences.

In order to demonstrate the problems involved in building such typologies for Peru, we may briefly inspect some existing models. Aguirre Beltran, (1966) has reviewed the attempts of Tumin, Tax, Holmberg, Nash and others to define Peruvian society in terms of caste and class dualities, and argues that such exercises have failed to cope with the Peruvian reality. Harris and Wagley, (1955:428-51) presented a typology of Latin American sub-cultures, in which they discussed the rural type in terms of three categories: Modern Indians, Tribesmen, and Peasants. In the present study I have decided not to consider 'Tribesmen', that is to say, the pre-literate groups inhabiting the Amazon jungle basin: these peoples are largely innaccessible even today, and exist outside the national society. There is nothing to be gained by adding them as an extra model type, particularly since the object of the model typology is ultimately related to education, a process in which tribesmen are not likely to be involved for some time to come.

The 'Modern Indian' of Harris and Wagley resembles the 'Campesino' model type in this thesis. Harris argues that

> "by at least the beginning of the eighteenth century, a new culture had taken form ... out of the fusion of aboriginal and colonial Spanish patterns. This culture persists today, unchanged in its main outlines..." (Harris and Wagley:1955:430)

Such cultures are defined as possessing the following characteristics: these Indians speak an aboriginal language, although they may also be bilingual, they are horticulturalists, planting native crops, although they may work on haciendas, and they hold land communally. Characteristically Catholic, a large segment of aboriginal belief has been fused with their Catholic ideology. Finally, such peoples think of their communities as separate ethnic units.

Modern Indians and Peasants are different in that the latter have greater identification with and participation in, national patterns and institutions. They value literacy, go to markets regularly, speak the national language, although they may also or instead speak the aboriginal language, and share national fashions, values and aspirations. Both types share the same 'slash and burn' farming techniques.

It does not seem difficult to demonstrate that such types are not 'on the whole' true. The process of 'castellanización' has developed tremendously since 1955, so that the number of Andeans speaking only Quechua or Aymara has greatly decreased. In any case, Harris and Wagley do not differentiate adequately between their two types on linguistic grounds. Indians who work on haciendas may be peons or tenant-farmers, but Harris and Wagley ignore this vital distinction. Wolf and Redfield would both have objected to the assertion that peasants value literacy and participate in national cultural patterns. Finally, 'slash-and'burn' techniques can only be used in certain ecological situations, which hardly obtain anywhere in Peru.

Harris and Wagley refer to Modern Indians, but use the term 'cholo' in referring to peasants. This term will be considered later in this section: meanwhile, it may be said that the term has so many uses that it is confusing, and best avoided.

The same difficulties arise in the case of Beals' typology of social stratification in Latin America. (Beals:1953:327-339) He presents the following groupings:

Rural Cholos, often with marked local cultures.
Small farmers.
Small-town craftsmen.
Non-agricultural workers, traders.

Urban Cholos

small shopkeepers.
Working-class groups.
Artisans.
Petty civil servants.
Domestic servants.
Lowest groups.

Rural Indians

locally organized, with internal prestige system, independent farm villages, villages dependent on haciendas, rural labourers.

Urban Indians

Migrants from rural areas. Engaged in lowest paid factory work, and forming lowest ranks of army and police.

Beals postulates two ethnic groups, Indian and cholos: he argues that

> "such terms ... convey a host of specific meanings in different countries." (Beals:1953:332)

yet he does not say what these meanings might be. It may be assumed that he employs cholo to mean a mestizo, or a person of mixed blood, of low social status. But in Peru, domestic servants are almost always Indian, and come, in fact, from that group of migrants to urban areas which Beals defines as Indian. He is also mistaken, in my view, in assuming that the lowest ranks of the police and the army do not include cholos. His typology, in short, reveals the impossibility of equating ethnic types with social strata in the Peruvian case, and also demonstrates the need to define ethnic terms with care and precision if they are to be of any operational use.

With this in mind, I will discuss the ethnic terms to be used in the present typology. Mestizo has previously been used to define an interstitial type in Chapter II. In that case it referred to a group of urban craftsmen and persons engaged in service occupations and minor supervisory. Such mestizos were of mixed Spanish or Creole and Indian blood. Today, the terms Mestizo still refers to persons of mixed ethnic ancestry, although in the Peruvian racial melting pot it is now necessary to include negroid and asiatic as well as Spanish and Indian elements. Also, Mestizos predominate in Peru today, forming over half of the population.

Cholo, has many meanings. It refers to mestizos of low social class. Peruvians use it to refer to persons of dark skin: in the middle classes, a professional or executive type of dark complexion may be called cholo. In this sense, the term may have disparaging connotations, or it may be an endearment. It may also be a term denoting criollo qualities in the owner. Much confusion arises from the use of cholo in a cultural sense: an Indian who has migrated to the city and adopted the garb of the urban labourer becomes a cholo, although if he returns to his Andean community and reverts to peasant dress, he becomes an Indian once more. In view of the ambiguities involved, I will avoid the use of the term altogether.

Criollo referred in early Republican times to members of the Creole elite: these were ethnically Spanish-mediterranean, but had by that time begun to develop the local syncretic culture which became known as Criollismo. Since that time, however, Criollismo has spread from the elite to embrace the entire coastal urban permanent population. I intend, by using the term 'permanent', to exclude those elements which have migrated to the coast from the sierra, and are in process of assimilation.

Beals freely employs terms such as working-class, traders, etc., and this may be a source of confusion. Working-class, for example, is a term derived from fully industrialized societies, and does not appear suitable in the Peruvian case, where many people of the urban lower classes are either unemployed, or sporadically employed. In this study, I will define each model type in terms of working patterns, and I will also make frequent reference to the primary, secondary, and tertiary sectors of the economy.

The primary sector is deemed that which is concerned with direct exploitation of natural resources. It thus refers to agriculture, mining, and oil operations.

The secondary sector refers to light industry, such as textiles, and to processes under which natural commodities are rendered marketable.

The tertiary sector refers to heavy industry, and to the services and organizational forms of commerce and finance which become essential in a fully developed economy. As yet the tertiary sector in Peru is

partially developed, but there has been a great deal of growth in this sector in recent years. (Quijano:1967)

Model Types

The Model Types which will be postulated as the main cultural groups in Peruvian society may now be restated:

(i) The Campesino.
(ii) The Rural Marginal.
(iii) The Rural Proletarian.
(iv) The Urban Marginal.
(v) The Urban Proletarian.
(vi) The Middle Class.
(vii) The Oligarquía.

I. THE CAMPESINO

The Andean Peasant (pp. 34-5) was defined as a linear descendant of the Indian of Inca times. He lived communally and worked land which was communally owned. Of all sections of Peruvian society outside the jungle, the Andean Peasant was the least affected by Spanish Institutions, and this was regarded as the index for formulating this type.

The Campesino includes the descendants of this type: that is to say, communally dwelling Indians who have maintained a large degree of autonomy and homogeneity in their existence. The existence of such groups is recognized in the recent decree on Agrarian Reform. (Appendix Section). Whatever the degree of acculturation of such communities by the Spanish, there can be no doubt that events since 1821 have acted to acculturate such groups further.

The Campesino model type also includes those elements which have lost their communal character. Here I include tenant-farmers,

sharecroppers, subsistence farmers, and non-wage hacienda labourers. The latter are distinct from wage-labourers on the large coastal corporation plantations, in that they typically receive payment in kind, are involved in paleotechnic work-forms, and work for privately-owned haciendas.

The criterion for the Andean Peasant was autonomy from Spanish rule. In such communities, the Cargo was presumed not to have taken hold, and the homogeneous patterns of the Ayllu were considered to have remained intact.

The Campesino model type, on the other hand, is intended to include all Peruvians who work the land directly, with the exception of those employed on the coastal corporation farms: the latter are involved in neo-technic forms of exploitation, (Wolf:1966) and are members of a hierarchical company structure. They are considered as members of the Rural Proletariat model type.

(i) Physical Setting: This embraces the valleys of the entire Sierra region, the high plateaux or Altiplano of southern Peru,and all coastal valleys in which enclaves or corporation farms do not exist.

(ii) Group Members: Members of this group are typically Indians. Some may have adopted forms of dress and habits which cause them to be termed 'cholos' but this is a cultural rather than a racial distinction, as we have seen. Most Campesinos speak either Quechua or Aymara, and a recent government estimate states that over sixty per cent also speak Spanish.

(iii) Forms of Work: Three kinds of work are suggested. Firstly, the tilling of communally-held lands, accompanied by herding. Secondly, subsistence farming, either on individually-owned lands, or on lands rented from hacienda owners, and thirdly, work in the service of hacienda owners.

The hacienda labourer will be involved in cereal crop-cultivation and stock-raising; tea and coffee operations, and other kinds of farming, exist. When working his own lands or land he has rented, the Campesino will be liable to cultivate potatoes, maize, wheat, vegetables and herbs, and will also keep chickens, guinea pigs, and in some cases, llamas and pigs.

Herding is often carried out by children. Land is cultivated by paleotechnic methods, often with land-ploughs or steel-tipped hoes. The Inca institution of Aine, by which individuals join to tackle certain tasks cooperatively, still obtains in the Sierra, although it has a less formal character.

(iv) Social Organization: The village, or Ayllu of pre-Colonial times, remains the typical settlement pattern, and the kinship structure continues to derive from this. The group of one or more families which was typical then, still obtains. In such villages, however, one of several social patterns is liable to exist. Social organization may be communal and egalitarian. The Cargo system according to Aguirre Beltrán (1966), has led to social inequalities in many communities, so that a group of those owning the largest amount of land may assume prominent roles. Proximity to towns or main highways may be a factor inducing greater instability in community membership than in other areas. In many communities, inequality may be brought about, not by the Cargo system, but by the greater wealth of some members who have returned from enclaves with their savings.

(v) Patterns of Interaction: In 1955, Nuñez del Prado held that the Indian was typically trusting, equable and good-humoured among his own people. While this may still be generally true, the effects of recently accelerated social change, and the disintegration of the agrarian economy which Quijáno has argued for, suggest that the traditional patterns of interaction among Campesinos have undergone alteration. Whyte (1969), argues that the Campesino has become politically and culturally more sophisticated recently. From this

it may be surmised that many campesinos are more aggressive towards outsiders, and have a wider range of interactions among themselves.

(vi) Leisure Activity: Until recently, most Campesinos spent nearly all their waking hours at work, and leisure only existed in the highly-structured form of the Andean festivals which followed the calendar of Catholic feast-days. These included processions, dances, feasts, and a great deal of drinking and sexual promiscuity. It is undoubtedly true to say that the influence of the Church and the Cargo system has declined. At the same time, the ubiquitous transistor radio and the diffusion of coastal leisure patterns have led to a less structured and more differentiated way of life among Campesinos. In the absence of recent ethnographies, it is impossible to go beyond such surmise.

(vii) Socialization Processes: The same difficulty arises here. Nuñez del Prado provides the following account of socialization processes in the Sierra. He was writing in 1955, but much of his comment would have applied a hundred or more years before.

> "Informal education among the natives is given by the parents according to sex, and is supplemented by full participation in the affairs of the community. During the earliest years, the mother guides the child's discipline by caresses and affection, while later it learns by imitation and personal experience in the activities appropriate to the sex. A boy learns first from its father and then from other men with whom it works. A girl learns chiefly from her mother's example and teaching, with a somewhat lesser opportunity to imitate the behaviour of other adult women. Fiestas and co-operative labour give good opportunities to broaden and stimulate the child's development. Education is thus strongly traditional, and especially oriented to teach the children how to work. A life close to the flocks, frequent attendance at adult fiestas, frank discussion by adults of pregnancy and birth, and the opportunities provided by life in a one-room house to be present at these events, give the children a perfectly natural introduction to everything connected with normal

> sex life. This perhaps is the reason why they lack the restless curiosity and concern with such matters which are so frequent in mestizo children. They have never been taught any special valuation on virginity and, at adolescence, have a certain liberty to satisfy their urges, since pre-matrimonial sex-relations are permissible within limits at the proper age. They are thus well-prepared for adult sex-life, and prostitution is very rare. Adultery and sex crimes are even more unusual.
>
> On the other hand, their participation in community activities and frequent dealings with adults give them an early understanding of all matters relating to the functioning of their society, and it is not unusual to find children of seven or eight years of age who can give very exact and detailed information about community problems, the local authorities who govern them, and even the specific duties of these authorities."
>
> (Nuñez del Prado:1955:6)

This account, excellent as it is, does not account for much that has happened since 1955. The transistor radio has already been mentioned; apart from the commercial stations of the coast, which bring new dance rhythms, world newscasts, and urban time-sense, and the appeals to compulsive greediness of commercial advertising, other programmes may be mentioned which are beamed directly at the Indian of the Sierra. Cuban broadcasts stress the exploitation of the Indian, and his membership in a class beyond the Ayllu and the local market network. Fundamentalist Faiths from the United States preach a new kind of salvation. I do not know of any studies which would demonstrate the impact of such media forms upon the campesino, but it would appear that a sense of Indian group consciousness may be one effect.

(vii) Contacts with the External World: The traditional Andean community was linked to the network of markets which exist throughout the Sierra. On market days, Campesinos took produce to an urban centre and exchanged them for other commodities, which were typically produced by specialized craftsmen. The market economy continues to operate, but its character is altered. Cheap clothing and footwear,

farming implements from the industrial coast, record-players and radios, commercial beer and other commodities have replaced those of the local manufacture. Many Campesinos now produce handicrafts for sale to the tourists who stop off at Huancayo and other markets. These changing patterns lead to a more sophisticated view of the outside world than previously.

Government agents, doctors and members of the armed forces visit the sierra communities frequently. Since 1960, revolutionary groups have travelled in the Sierra, attempting to awake the Campesino to his oppressed situation. Many Campesinos have located permanently in coastal urban communities, returning occasionally to their sierran societies with accounts of life in Lima and other cities. These developments, which have taken place largely within the past decade, are clearly related to the enormous growth in migration from the Sierra to the coast,and in the apparently spontaneous uprisings near Cuzco and elsewhere, during which the Campesinos have organized themselves and seized lands from hacendados.

(ix) World View: Redfield (1953) held that the peasant stands culturally midway between the little traditions of his rural existence, and the great traditions of the urban centres upon which he is dependent. Applying this logic to the Peruvian case, it may be said that the process of agararian disintegration which has recently taken place, (Quijano:1967) has been accompanied by a disintegration of socio-cultural forms. Even when most oppressed, the Campesino of two or three decades ago was confortably removed from urban influences. With the decline of the hacienda, and the advent of the radio, the mass-produced artefact, and the guerilla, the stable world view of the Campesino would appear to have been greatly disrupted. He is now obliged to wrestle with concepts of space, of economic processes, and of strange life-styles, and in attempting to understand these he must also cope with increasing instability in his own community. His world has been thrown into flux, and he can only cope with such change by his own efforts. Thus I would argue that the Campesino's world view is unstable in the extreme, and is typified by a general

need to cope with a rush of intruding 'great traditions', for whom there are no literati or interpreters, so that the Indian is obliged to do his own learning, at a forced pace.

II. THE RURAL MARGINAL

Many Indian campesinos desert the land to seek niches in the enclaves and the barriadas. Others move to country towns, where they live a marginal existence which often has a transitional character. Eventually, they may return to the land, or move on to the cities of the coast.

(i) Physical Setting: Most of the Peruvian towns between twenty and fifty thousand in population are in the Sierra. Such towns service the surrounding rural areas, largely through the institution which Wolf (1966) defines as the 'sectional market'. Transport facilities and government agencies are also located in such towns.

Some of the changes which have recently taken place in the marketing patterns of such towns have been considered in the preceding section. The functions of such towns have been diversified in many senses, and this is reflected in the growth of commercial areas around the main plazas, and in the increase in hotels of quality.

(ii) Group Members: This group is for the most part Indian ethnically, but is often referred to as cholo. Used in this way, the term refers to one who has adopted dress and other traits of the mestizo proletariat, although in his domestic existence such a person may retain many campesino traits. This model type might have been termed cholo: in view, however, of the various uses of that term, I will prefer to use Rural Marginal.

(iii) Forms of Work: This type has no skills saleable in the urban community. Members of this type are only able to find sporadic employment as labourers, although some fortunate individuals may manage to find a stable job, possibly with opportunities for learning a skill.

(iv) Social Organization: In terms of family style, this type tends to retain campesino forms. Unlike the Campesino, however, the Rural Marginal no longer relates to a larger kinship group. Unlike the Rural Proletarian, he is not subject to company-defined norms. Unlike the Urban Marginal, he has little sense of a place in a community of equals. He is a member of a small and unstable group, whereas the barriada-dweller is likely to have links with a much larger community.

(v) Patterns of Interaction:

> "In most aspects of behavour they are un-Indian. The men typically can understand Spanish, while their wives continue to speak Quechua ... They show the hardy character of the Indian in their narrow and simple economic needs, but they are more aggressive and assertive vis-a-vis the mestizos."
> (Fried:1961:21)

(vi) Leisure Activity:

> " They chew coca leaves and drink corn beer, but not in the fiesta setting of the Indian ..."
> (Fried:1961:24)

(In point of fact the Indian campesino chews coca and drinks chicha casually as well as at fiestas. He carries them around as he works. It is not feasible to indulge such habits during one's working day as an urban labourer.)

I would argue that the Campesino has little idea of the concept of leisure, as an activity which the individual is free to structure. The Rural Marginal is faced with the problem of how to occupy expanses

of free time which he previously did not have. He has neither facilities nor psychological resources for this task. The cantina and the soccer field would appear to be focal points in an otherwise aimless leisure pattern.

(vii) Socialization Processes: Children of this group are now able to attend school. They usually do so under severe disadvantages. They are academically backward, culturally marginal, and socially disadvantaged. Even allowing for the resilient adaptability of youth, it is clear that such schooling must have disagreeable effects. In the home, it may be expected that children in this group are raised according to the campesino practices of their mothers, but without the communal experiencing which is an indispensable complement to such socialization. In the Ayllu dominant-submissive patterns between parent and child did not typically exist, and the child's time was structured with work; in contrast, in the urban community, the child is faced with long periods of undirected idleness, and an environment in which adults have different expectations for children than those which obtain in Campesino life.

(viii) Contacts with the External World: To the Rural Marginal, the town in which he lives is for the most part the external world. It is for him an alien environment, dominated by mestizo petite bourgeoisie, and workers who have made a transition to skilled, or at least fairly stable, occupations. Class attitudes are nowhere stronger than in country towns, and the Rural Marginal must cope with closure in most aspects of his existence. Like the Campesino, he will have a radio, but the effects of this upon his cognitive processes are hard to imagine. He does not move out of the country town, unless the move is permanent.

(ix) World View: This type is unstable and marginal. He is usually in the process of moving back to the campesino community, or on

to the enclave or the coastal barriadas. Despite his proximity to urban society, he is alienated and frustrated: no longer Campesino, he cannot gain acceptance to any of the mestizo categories, and must endure his marginal life and hope for a stroke of good fortune, or move out. Thus instability and estrangement from the urban mainstream, nostalgia for the lost 'little traditions' and resentful incomprehension of the 'great traditions' around him, best typify his world-view.

III. THE RURAL PROLETARIAN

(i) Physical Setting: The mining, oil, or farming enclave. There are mining operations in the central and southern Andes, and near Nazca on the coast. Oil and farm enclaves are on the coast, the latter in irrigated valleys.

There is company housing, which is serviced by stores, transport agencies for bus and collectivo, and at least one bank, co-operative market, restaurant, gas station, and police office. Otherwise, environments will vary according to the nature of the operation in which the enclave is involved.

(ii) Group Membership: Labourers, obreros, are seldom literate. They may originate from Sierra communities or the marginal urban coast, or they may have been raised in enclaves. Such groups are ethnically heterogeneous, dark skin colour, and Indian elements predominating.

(iii) Forms of Work: The enclave is hierarchically and neotechnically organized:

> "Production is rationalized in every possible manner. Modern cost-accounting governs operational costs, and the work-system is standardized at the most efficient level."
> (Mintz:1953:139)

At the obrero level, the stability of personnel is low. This may be explained in two ways: firstly, enclaves combine elements of urban and rural life. Entrants from rural life may fail to adjust to the obrero role: many of those who do adjust will retain links with their home community in the Sierra, and will return there when they have saved a sufficient amount. Full integration as an enclave obrero may not be reached until certain value-shifts take place. Wolf sees peasant work as a cyclical replacement activity, (Wolf:1966) and it is surely true to say that the peasant knows what the outcome of his work will be, and does not expect to improve his social status or his financial position to any unusual degree through work. The obrero, however, is working for wages which must be considered large amounts, compared to what he has been used to. Within months he can become rich -- in campesino terms. If he demonstrates certain qualities, he may also be promoted to a job which pays more, and symbolizes greater acceptance of him by the mestizo world. For such reasons he is liable to develop a concept of work far different to that which operates among campesinos:

> "Work is a specific value in American society. It is not so much a necessary condition of existence as a positive good." (DuBois:1955:1234)

The obrero in enclaves, especially those managed by North American personnel, is surrounded by such values, even though he may not internalize them.

Mintz suggests that tensions arising from the meeting of value-systems result in high job-turnover, as a result of which stability is maintained by common knowledge of differing roles. The role of the obrero is easily learned. A fairly high level of job instability is thus tolerable at this level.

(iv) Social Organization: The instability factor is also relevant here. Typically, bonds of kinship and ritual kinship persist among the rural proletariat. It is common to find families and groups from the same campesino community living in an enclave. However, isolation from the 'home' community acts to weaken kinship ties between such groups and individuals and the larger kinship system.

At the same time, the obrero may develop a sense of class membership:

> "The rural proletarian community tends to be a class isolate, its existence predicated on the existence of other classes who own the instruments of production, provide the work opportunities, pay the wages, and sell the commodities to be bought." (Mintz:1953:141)

As has been seen with other types, the forms of exploitation and patterns of social organization are closely related.

(v) Patterns of Interaction: Here I will draw upon personal observations. I worked for a mining enclave for two years, and during that time played soccer with obreros. They came from various communities, and although I could not differentiate between accents, it was clear that the obreros themselves were sensitive to regional differences within their group. They seemed generally friendly to each other, although prone to bad temper when drinking. Many of the obreros in this company were not from the Sierra but from the coastal town, (Nazca), and these appeared to have a more sophisticated sense of humour. They all tended to extremes of hilarity and depression, and it has been suggested that this is a commonly-encountered characteristic among lower-class Peruvians.

(vi) Lesisure Activity: Obreros new to enclave life must adapt to the fact that at a given moment they are either on- or off- duty, whereas as campesinos they did not distinguish work from leisure on a daily basis, and their leisure was heavily structured by festivals and the like. The rural proletarian spends most of

his leisure out of doors, since his living space must serve for eating, cooking, sleeping, and is usually cramped. He may hang around the market area, talking and drinking beer, lie around gossiping in the sun, or go to the drive-in, where, since he has no car, he will have to sit on a dusty slope and, in his own country, be entertained in a foreign language.

(vii) Socialization Processes:

Mintz holds that

> "... the commonality of class identity makes for a kind of cultural homogeneity ... Similarities among these rural people extend to child-rearing practices, ritual kinship practices, (not merely the Catholic system of *Compadrazgo* but the particular ways in which this system is employed and standardized) political attitudes, attitudes towards the position of women, similarities in dress, and so on ....".
> (Mintz:1953:140)

(viii) Contacts with the External World: In many senses, the *obrero* perceives the hierarchical structure beyond his own class as the external world. He lives between his house, the market area, and mine or plantation. Within a stone's throw from these areas, remote *gringos* and middle-class Peruvians who are also in many senses remote, drive around in large cars, and go in and out of offices which he will never enter. From such daily experiences he comes to perceive himself as belonging to a class which is closed off from participation in the mainstream of enclave activity. His children go to different schools from other children, he plays soccer on a bare field while the executive staff carry sets of clubs worth three months of the *obrero's* salary around the golf course to which other groups are denied access, and he may look from the doorway of his two-room terraced cabin to the palatial residences on the hill, which he may not approach without permission.

When the rural proletarian travels to Lima or one of the coastal cities, however, he may see himself as privileged in comparison with the urban poor who not only lack regular jobs, and cannot earn wages comparable to those paid to enclave *obreros*,

but do not belong. The rural proletarian may feel his inferiority deeply while he is in the enclave, but outside it he is regarded as a success, among the urban poor and in the Sierra. This is the nature of his contact with the outside world, and in closing it may be added that he, like other model types, is also affected by the transistor.

(ix) World View: With the preceding comments in mind, I would suggest that the Rural Proletarian is caught up in a number of conflicts: he belongs neither to the urban nor the rural world, he may fluctuate between the enclave and the sierra, he is part-peasant, part-prole, and although he occupies the lowliest rung in the company power-structure, to others beyond the enclave he may seem privileged. Thus his world view is unstable and filled with warring elements.

IV. THE URBAN MARGINAL

(i) Physical Setting: The Urban Marginal has established squatter communities on the hillsides and desert plains on the fringes of Lima and other cities. It never rains on the coast, and is seldom windy. In winter, the temperature is in the fifties. Thus the people of the *barriadas*, as these communities are called in Peru, needs only sufficient food for his family, and running water, which is usually obtained from a communal tap.

(ii) Group Members: Most Urban Marginals have come originally from *Campesino* communities, perhaps by way of a brief spell in rural marginal areas. Most have spent some time in the inner city before locating in the *barriadas*. Estimates are vague, but the population of the Lima *barriadas* must exceed half a million. Even though members of this type may be recent migrants from *campesino* life, they have assumed *cholo* identity by their migration.

(iii) Forms of Work: Dietz, (1968) and Whyte, (1969), have found that many Urban Marginals are able to obtain regular employment in various, mostly menial, capacities, in Lima. Quijáno, (1967) argues that since the Peruvian urban economy offers little employment to unskilled labour, most Urban Marginal are either unemployed or sporadically employed, and this position is taken here.

(iv) Social Organization: In order to create communities, *barriada* dwellers must seize land illegally, and organize autonomously in the face of police scrutiny and bureaucratic muddle. Thus the community is forced by circumstances to undertake the organization of its own affairs. Government officials are also involved in such organization, but because they represent other interests, belong to a different socio-cultural group, and must work

through red tape, such agencies have seldom been effective.

The structure of the barriada family is hard to assess. Some writers, Dietz and Mangin, (1960) for example, hold that such families are usually nuclear, and young. Lewis, in his various writings on such conditions in Latin America, has stressed the existence of extended families, often with no male head. Both conditions must apply to some extent, but there are grounds for assuming that in barriada circumstances a family with no male head would be hard pressed to maintain even the minimal existence possible under such circumstances. In 'La Vida', Lewis observed that families with no male head could be maintained by the mother's earnings from prostitution: it is doubtful whether this is typical, since in Lima, prostitutes are usually located in the inner city, or in Callao.

(v) Patterns of Interaction: Mangin, (1960) has argued that violence, gang behaviour, prostitution and sexual perversion are not typically present in the barriadas. Dietz, (1968) found that Urban Marginals shared youth, a common campesino tradition, and mutual economic disadvantages. This would seem to suggest a large degree of homogeneity and cooperation among such persons, reminiscent of campesino life-styles in the Sierra. Undoubtedly a lack of privacy and a need to cooperate must be present. Mangin has observed a high degree of ambivalence in the barriadas, expressed in conflicts between the need to accept responsibilities and sporadic outbursts of child- and wife-beating, and between depressive tendencies, which certainly exist, and what DuBois (1955) has termed 'effort-optimism'.

(vi) Leisure Activities: The concept of leisure, as a middle-class person might understand it, hardly seems to exist. In the absence of regular work, men may play soccer, drink in the cantina, or gossip on street corners. Women, concerned with daily chores and children, may be expected to mix 'leisure', i.e., gossipping, listening to the radio, with their household tasks.

Most barriadas possess few leisure facilities.

(vii) Socialization Processes: School facilities do not usually exist, so that children are left largely to themselves. The strain implicit in the barriada situation, which is expressed, as we have seen, in depressive tendencies and unstable personality patterns, is said by Mangin to lead to an ambivalent attitude towards children: on one hand, children are treated with a responsible care in which expressive love and authoritarian control are mixed. At the same time, children are also perceived as millstones, restricting male mobility and opportunity. Many of these children seem to wander from home, and become independent very early, although still attached to the home. The streets of Lima, for example, are filled with urchins who roam aimlessly, work as bootblacks, and ride from place to place by clinging to the outside of buses. Many of these must come from the barriadas. Little is known of the habits of older children, and if Dietz is right in assuming that barriada families are generally young, perhaps these do not exist in great numbers. There is a dire need for research into these and other questions, on a holistic scale.

(viii) Contacts with the External World: The barriada dweller knows the inner city, having usually lived there for a while, but does not feel at home there. Unlike more specifically urban persons of lower class, he tends to be suspicious and self-effacing in the presence of outsiders. He is obliged to travel to the city to find work, and through this and the radio, builds up a familiarity with the city way of life, while unable to participate fully in it at any level.

(ix) World View: While flux typifies the Campesino world-view, and conflict that of the Rural Marginal, the Urban Marginal's existence is surrounded by threats. These are very real: malnutrition, sickness, strain on the marriage relationship, and ever-present

agents from the main urban society, must all be coped with. It seems likely that such elements combine to form a generalized threat which assumes symbolic proportions. Smelser, (1968) has pointed out that hostile outbursts, religious movements, and other forms of collective behaviour are often precipitated by such threats, and these forms of behaviour are often intended to erase not one particular menacing situation, but a generalized threatening force which is to a great extent created in the mind of the individual, or in the collective consciousness of the group. The success of fundamentalist missionaries in the barriadas may in part be a response to such conception. This hypothesis derives some support, perhaps, from the presence of residual elements of superstition and animistic belief among the urban Marginals.

Dietz has found that the barriadas have a societal function: they provide the opportunity for the Sierra migrant to pause, and adjust to the urban experience from a marginal position. Since his wants in this situation are few, the barriada dweller is able to ensure for himself and his family a degree of stability, while he acquires the savings and skills necessary to enter the city in a fuller sense. Dietz studied the life-style of one individual and found that

> "he had the possibility of alternative sources of action, and that these alternatives depended on himself." (Dietz:1968:361)

It is true that in the barriadas, the sierra migrant is forced to assume responsibility for himself, whereas in the Campesino community he was able to depend upon others for support. It is also true that the Urban Marginal not only has this responsibility, but perceives that he has it: knowing that he must make choices, he becomes a more autonomous individual. On the other hand, Lewis has found that in 'the Culture of Poverty', a feeling of dependence and helplessness is typically present, as are weak-ego-structures, a high tolerance for psychological pathologies, and a high degree of fatalism.

These views are in opposition. Unless one of them is not applicable in this case, it would seem that elements of both Lewis' and Dietz' model types are present. Again, research must provide the answer.

V. THE URBAN PROLETARIAN

Blue-collar workers in Lima-Callao and other large Peruvian cities form a privileged proletarian elite. This is due to a number of factors. As was pointed out in Impetus to Change IV, industrial development increases the demand for skilled and semi-skilled labour, and the demand for unskilled labour declines. Since at present the skilled labour group is small in terms of the total labour market, it may fairly be termed a proletarian elite. This group enjoys various privileges. Because of the activities of the Aprista party in the twenties and thirties, the urban proletariat is heavily unionized. It also enjoys extensive welfare schemes. Because of such factors,

> " the Urban Proletariat has therefore not made common cause with the mass or marginal urban workers or the peasants, but works through the system to hold on to its current position."
> (Chaplin:1969:45)

(i) Physical Setting: This type lives within commuting distance of the industrial sectors of Lima and Callao. While most blue-collar workers reside in low-cost duplex and apartment housing, many have small houses in such proletarian neighbourhoods as Surquillo and Brena. Some more successful or better-paid elements may live in the less fashionable middle-class neighbourhoods, such as Magdalena Vieja. The Urban Proletariat is thus differentiated from the other groups in its settlement patterns it hardly intrudes

into middle-class areas, yet typically enjoys facilities superior to the crowded callejones in which may be found labourers with no skills, irregular employment, and unstable residence patterns.

(ii) Group Members: Ethnically, this group is largely mestizo, with negroid elements, and some asiatic. Most are truly urban types, as opposed to the Urban Marginals, who are usually rural migrants. The Urban Proletariat is said to comprise 5.02% of the total population. (1961 Peruvian Census).

(iii) Forms of Work: The concept of economic sectors as used here has been explicated previously. (p. 51) While the majority of urban labourers are employed in the secondary sector, the skilled group considered here is also involved in the tertiary sector. We may list some of the larger groups: the fishmeal industry, building construction, longshoremen, and recently, car assembly plants, are important activities of this group.

(iv) Social Organization:

> " Peru's ... industrial workers are highly organized and are the beneficiaries of elaborate and effective welfare and working condition benefits."
>
> (Chaplin:1969:31)

The basic unit is the extended family. However, the fact that members of this type are closely related spatially to other members of the wider kin group, means that parties, weddings, etc., tend to be kinship functions. More affluent members of this group may support nieces, cousins, parents, etc., as well as their own family, and may in some cases hire maids.

(v) Patterns of Interaction: In cities of the size of Lima-Callao, (which have a combined population of more than two million), pockets of extreme poverty exist in even the most affluent neighbourhoods. While the upper- and middle-classes are able to

insulate themselves from such poverty, the Urban Proletarian cannot avoid contact with the squalor and petty crime which exist in the Inner City and elsewhere. This fact is reflected in his interactions.

Like all stable urban coastal elements, the blue-collar worker is criollo. The Criollo culture in modern Peru is, in my view, expressed in two themes: derived as it is from the wide kinship structure prevalent traditionally in Latin societies, Criollismo heavily emphasizes norms of conduct within the kin group, in which respect for elders and loyalty to the group are prominent. On the other hand, Criollismo implies a life-style in which picardía, (roguishness), gracia,(personal style), habildad,(artfulness), and chispa, (a vital sense of the absurd) are highly valued. These two themes are often in conflict. For example, although picardía and chispa are such valued traits, this does not justify playing tricks on the family or making family members appear ridiculous.

Since the Urban Proletarian is closer to street-life with its threat of lawlessness and anomie, it has always seemed to me that his interactions are more marked by the qualities subsumed in the second theme described above. His jokes are more ribald and his language is more florid than those of the middle-class Criollo. He has what Lewis terms a high degree of tolerance for psychological pathology, and for promiscuity. The blue-collar family may be stable, well-integrated and characterized by a loving trust, but the Urban Proletarian lives so close to chaos that it is reflected in his interactions, which are more informal and down-to-earth than among the middle classes.

Clearly, this is a difference between proletarian and bourgeois groups in any great city. Hoggart makes such observations concerning middle and working-class cultures in England. (Hoggart:1956). This points, perhaps, to the point that the Urban Proletarian is the segment of Peruvian society most comparable to working classes in other urban but more industrialized societies.

(vi) Leisure Activity: Much of the preceding comment applies implicitly here. The Urban Proletarian may play football or fulbito, a gentler variation for middle-aged athletes. He goes frequently to the Estadio Nacional: Football is his consuming passion. Footballers are folk-heroes in Peru, as in Brazil and Argentina. The Peruvian is almost proud of the fact that his national stars are often too intemperate and criollo to submit to disciplined training, yet they have such cintura (suppleness) and picardía that even when losing to the well-drilled teams from Europe, they perform with a grace that makes their opponents appear ridiculously clumsy. In Criollo culture, putting one's adversary at a laughable disadvantage is more important than winning, and this extends far beyond the sports field.

The proletarian male enjoys the life of la calle, (the street). He frequents the cantina, the working-class pub. In the summer, he takes his family to the public beaches at La Punta or Herradura.

I have mentioned the frequent kinship reunions held by Urban Proletarian families. While these resemble middle-class fiestas in the functions they serve, they differ in many respects from the middle class form. They are known as Jaranas. The foods served at such parties are more emphatically criollo. Drinking is much less temperate and, it seems to me, the dance forms express more alma criolla, (criollo 'soul') than in the middle class fiesta.

(vii) Socialization Processes: The mother in this group is faced with the responsibility of inculcating modal norms, honesty, family loyalty, obedience to parents, in a situation which is largely unsympathetic to such efforts, as we have seen. Class mores such as churchgoing, maintaining the appearances during coutship, and conforming to the sex-role, function to protect the members' identity in a world typified by criminality, promiscuity and deviance.

Children of the Urban Proletariat attend state schools. Classes are large, and opportunities for higher education limited.

However, families in this group are in a better position than most segments of society to provide the financial security needed to allow their children to complete secondary studies.

(viii) Contacts with the External World: Unlike other model types considered up to this point, the Urban Proletarian is able to grasp the outside world through his advantageous economic situation. He can afford a television set, and this is another index of his privileged position; he is a regular cinema-goer, and through this medium gains understandings of the geography and cultural life of other societies, in a more vivid way that is offered by the transistor. He can read newspapers which in some cases, (i.e. Ultima Hora), are written in his own class slang. He can afford to travel,and may own a car. In other words, his wider cultural perspectives and greater mobility may be traced to the economic prosperity he enjoys by comparison with model types previously mentioned in this chapter.

His contacts with the middle class may be directly personal, not only through his work, but through the fact that his daughters are liable to work in shops or offices where they internalize middle class patterns of speech and dress, etc., and may become involved with middle class boyfriends.

(ix) World View: The Urban Proletarian has an assured place in Peruvian society, and a recognizable sub-culture which is largely his own, and is less prone to North American acculturative influences than the Criollismo of the middle classes. He is less tempted by consumption advertising, since his status is derived from his work rather than display. Of all Peruvian groups outside the Oligarquía, he has least reason for anxiety. His main concern, in my view, is to protect himself from his immediate environment. He is intensely hedonistic, a true Criollo. He must, however, temper this with a respect for work, without which he would not enjoy his privileged position. Politically he tends to be conservative, since he has nothing to gain from shifts in the status quo.

The Urban Proletarian is nevertheless likely to be somewhat radical in other respects. In his attitudes towards his employers, and the national and international elements they represent, he may be expected to take radical attitudes in his own self-interest. The Apra party is no longer regarded as a radical group, but its platform has been so in the past, and this has been a powerful influence on proletarian attitudes. The intra-continental "indigenista" beliefs preached by Apristas may well be strongly held by members of this group.

VI. THE MIDDLE CLASS

In nations which, like Peru, are characterized by partially-developed economies and dependence upon external investment interests, only a limited sector of the population is able to participate in the consumption patterns created by urban industrial activity. The Urban Proletariat clearly forms part of this sector, as do those oligarchic elements which exercize control over the economy at the national level. The rest of this sector is not easily typologized. It would be possible to identify strata among the Peruvian middle classes, as Warner and Gans (1962) have done for North American society. Helpful as this might be in a typology of social stratification, its utility in a typology of cultural groups would be limited. On the other hand, it is clearly less than satisfactory to apply a blanket term, i.e. 'middle class', to all urban Peruvians who do not belong either in the Oligarquia or in the five types so far considered in this chapter.

I propose to resolve this dilemma in the following way. I shall postulate a model type which I will term 'The Middle Class': in the commentary on this type I shall describe the way of life of that group which during at least the last twenty-five years has been considered by Peruvians themselves to be la clase decente. From this group, which in Lima is for the most part located in San Isidro, Miraflores, Monterrico and San Antonio, is drawn the professional and executive personnel who occupy intermediate roles in the limited sector referred to above.

I regard this group as the traditional source of norms, to which newer elements in middle class life usually aspire. The middle classes have expanded considerably since the end of World War II, an arbitary date, perhaps, but one which marks an acceleration in external investment in Peru, and consequent growth of urban economy. The persons who have entered the white-collar world during that time have, in my view, taken their norms and values largely from two sources: the traditional group referred to above, which itself emerged from

> "provincial landowning sectors, the rural petite bourgeoisie, the skilled urban working classes, and the old urban middle class",
> (Quijano:1967:310)

and the acculturative forces which have followed United States investment into Peru in recent years. Here I refer to the cinema, to magazines and periodicals, to new leisure facilities imported from the United States, and most of all, to all-pervasive effects of consumer advertising.

I am suggesting, then, that traditional and intrusive cultural themes are mingled, and are also in conflict, within the wider group, but that by selecting traditional middle class elements and presenting them as a model type, I may crystallize these conflicts and at the same time suggest the model towards which more humble white-collar elements aspire.

There is a danger here: almost no ethnographic studies exist which would justify my assertion that lower white-collar elements have such aspirations. It might be that these have a distinct cultural existence, and could be typologized as further model types.

There is much room for argument here, and little evidence upon which to form judgements. The course I am taking reflects my personal experiences as member of the Peruvian middle class over a period of years. While I feel that such experience is of much value, I would emphasize here as elsewhere that the model type is intended as an indication of what is most probably true in a given cultural situation: if this study provokes further enquiries which contradict my assertions, the model types will have served their purpose.

(i) Physical Setting: Miraflores-San Isidro is the centre of the middle-classes. Larco, in the Lima suburb of Miraflores, is a focal centre of middle class life. Larco lies at the head of a ravine leading to the Pacific. It is connected with down-town Lima, eight miles away, by the elegant Avenida Arequipa. It contains, in luxurious and expanded form, the amenties one finds in a North American shopping plaza. It is a unique institution in Peru, and with its well-appointed stroes, European restaurants, ornate Church and opulent new cinema, expresses the privilege, the materialism, and the leisurely hedonistic way of life, of the true middle class of Lima.

(ii) Group Members: Typically, the head of the middle class family is in his fifties. During the nineteen forties and afterwards, he established himself in business, law, engineering, medicine, architecture, etc. He now has grown children who have married, and have set up homes in the neighbourhood, or in such newer suburban annexes as Monterrico and San Antonio.

(iii) Forms of Work: This has largely been indicated. Senior government bureaucrats, school principals and university lecturers, administrative staff of foreign corporations, may be added to the list. There are sizeable groups of transient foreigners in this group, but these may be excluded from the type.

(iv) Social Organization: The family structure is modelled on that of the traditional creole elite, which was derived intact from the colonial Spanish elite. Today, however, such structures are undergoing much change. As recently as ten years ago, the following pattern was typical.

The head of the family was responsible for bread-winning, and for major decisions concerning expenditures, marriage, etc. The wife and mother was responsible for household activities, in which she could rely on the services of two or three muchachas or maids. The children lived at home until marriage. Sons

studied to prepare for entry to appropriate occupations. Daughters sometimes worked as typists and secretaries, etc., but generally this was an insignificant way of filling in time before marriage. Several families were united loosely as extended kin groups, coming together to celebrate weddings, engagements, and birthdays. Often, such families would live in close proximity, so that daily informal communications among the kin group were also maintained. Sex roles were very sharply distinguished.

The analysis of middle-class family organization in Brazil provided by Willems casts some light on the Peruvian equivalent:

> " The upper- and middle-class family of Brazil may be interpreted as a dialectic structure based upon asymetric roles ascribed to males and females. The female role is centered in a cluster of values which may be characterized as a virginity complex. The belief that the virginity of unmarried females ought to be preseved at any cost has so far tenanciously resisted change. Such institutional arrangements as segregation of the sexes, chaperonage, and family-controlled courtship, which are to be regarded as component parts of the virginity complex have undergone so many changes, at least in the larger cities that the original pattern is hardly recognizable. However, the somewhat deceiving appearance of changing intersexaul relationships and vanishing family controls, the old rule that females should abstain from pre-marital sex experience has been rigidly maintained. Carefully conducted interviews carried out over a period of over twelve years showed that the most liberally-minded men became suddenly intransigent if asked what they thought of the possibility of marrying somebody with pre-marital sexual experience.
>
> ... The male role is centered in a set of values which may properly be called a virility complex. A young Brazilian is expected to become actively interested in sex at the age of puberty. Even before puberty, the average boy becomes used to the sexual bravado of the older companions ...
>
> At first glance it may seem improbably that these antithetic roles, which largely determine husband-wife, father-daughter, and brother-sister relationships, should be integrated into such a close-knit group as the Brazilian family. Actually, these roles are adjusted to each other with a minimum of friction or conflict. There is a strict separation between the sex-ridden, overbearing, and irresponsible Brazilian male as he

> likes to appear to his friends, and the devoted father and provider as he appears to the members of his family. Typically, Brazilian men have a highly-developed sense of honour and respectability with regard to their families and they endeavour to bring up their children in accordance with the austere rules of tradition."
>
> (E. Willems:1958:570)

This system has undergone sharp changes in the past decade. Daughters now work as a matter of course, and this often continues after marriage. They are now tending to undergo training, to seek more remunerative, highly skilled work. The younger generation is responding to urban growth and a more developed commercial and industrial economy by living in nuclear families, and by spending some years in apartment life in order to save the deposit on a new house. Although young married persons retain very strong ties with the kin of their parents' generation, their life-styles are tending to lead them more and more into the company of others in a similar situation. Chaperoning, and restrictions on adolescent activities, have been decling rapidly.

(v) Patterns of Interaction: Formal gestures are significant. Women cheek-kiss, and men shake hands or embrace each other, on meeting. Physical contacts have expressive as well as formal character. In addition to the normal middle-class transactions common in western societies, Peruvians of this type spend a great deal of time discussing acquaintances and old school friends, which reflects the still exclusive and closed character of the type. Membership of this, the clase decente, is manifested in innumerable subtle ways through interaction. Members of this group appear able to divine very quickly whether a new acquaintance is not of their class, and have many devices for exercizing closure. A cardinal insult is conveyed by the term

'huachafo' which refers to a person of lower-middle class status who is attempting to pass himself off as the genuine article. Conversations are rather predictable, and are permeated with the gay but somewhat mordant wit of the criollo. Male friendships are often strong, and among the older generation, binding, if they involve compadrazgo. (This literally means godfatherhood, but also stands for a lifelong sworn friendship.) My impression has been that in interactions with members of the oligarchic elite, people of this group behave with rather formal dignity, whereas members of lower middle class groups often tend to be obsequious towards the true middle class.

(vi) Leisure Activity: Much time is spent in casual conversation, although television is beginning to make inroads here. The Middle Class visits the cinema often, and from December to April, spends many afternoons at the beach. During these months, the downtown business area has virtually closed after midday, although this is now changing because of the spread of American business practices.

Members of this type dine out in restaurants frequently. They go to football matches at the estadio macional. On the other hand, tennis, golf, picnics, barbeques, and drinking in public bars, are aspects of European and North American leisure which have not become very prevalent in Peru.

The younger generation follows the leisure patterns of its peers. It also congregates in boites, the darkened, all-night discotheques which have mushroomed since 1960, when there were only two in Lima.

The house party or fiesta is the traditional form of middle class enjoyment. These are held for weddings, etc., and often with no purpose at all, beyond reuniting the kin-group intergenerationally. Criollo dishes are prepared, whisky and other drinks are served, and the large group mingles informally.

In a society in which roles are becoming increasingly specific, and the generations separated, the criollo fiesta is the great reaffirmation of kinship and cultural values. Criollo songs and dances are performed and sung to guitars. Despite much heavy drinking, people seldom behave badly. In comparison to the often dionysian character of the proletarian jarána, the middle class fiesta is ordered and appolonian.

(vii) Socialization Processes: In early years, children spend much time in the care of muchachas. Since the house is usually quite crowded, members of this group learn from early childhood to be courteously extroverted. The child is reared in a noisy, friendly, extremely sociable atmosphere. Because of this, members of this type are not very reflective; in fact, they seldom have much chance to be alone.

Fathers are authoritarian but warm and responsive. Children are seldom punished, and physical punishment is virtually unheard of. Inter-familial ties are extremely strong.

Children of this type invariably attend private schools, where they are taught 'facts' from a severely academic curriculum, by very formalistic methods. This theme is discussed fully in the second part of the study.

The number of secondary private schools suitable to children of this class is very limited. Thus the school one has attended is a primary index of membership of this type. Schools of the appropriate calibre operate closure by keeping their fees at a level which only the upper levels of the middle class can afford.

(viii) Contacts with the External World: For this model type, the external world is largely Europe and United States, to both of which members often travel. Although it is common for the middle class to travel in Latin America as well, one is reluctant to term this the external world, since Caracas, Bogota, Santiago, and other capitals are in many ways so similar to Lima. One may say with confidence that the middle class Peruvian is more

at home in a neighbouring capital than in the rural areas of his own country.

Here I may offer the example of my mother-in-law, who has visited Europe, Canada and Mexico, but has never seen the Peruvian Sierra or jungle, and is in fact terrified by the thought of doing so. Many men of this class have travelled in the Peruvian hinterland, but with the exception of the Callejon de Huaylas, the Peruvian Switzerland now so tragically destroyed by earthquakes, and Cuzco, this type has little interest in his own rural areas. Whereas a North American or European may be fascinated by these indigenous regions, many urban Peruvians have been raised with the notion that such places are bleak and inhospitable, fit only for Indians. This view is reinforced by the fact that whereas foreigners frequently buy Indian textiles and furniture to display proudly in their homes, the middle class Peruvian much prefers the mass-produced products sold by Sears Roebuck.

(ix) World View: Quijáno, (1967) regards the Peruvian middle class as decadent, corrupt, and exceptionally acquisitive and materialistic. This class regards itself as mainstream society, superior to all but the Oligarquia, which is a hidden, silent minority.

Undoubtedly, this type has become obsessed with consumption in recent years. Feeling its exclusiveness threatened, the clase decente may have become grossly ostentatious not out of blind greed, but in order to express its superior social status in the main way available.

My own impression is that, threatened by rapid socio-cultural change which attacks both its exclusive character and its love of leisure, the middle class insists neurotically on its traditions. Less than fifty years ago, the present older generation were children in a quieter and pleasanter world. Their fathers were often country gentlemen, whose children grew up on a modest hacienda surrounded by servants. The Lima of pre-Oncenio Peru was much smaller than today, and the middle class was then

a much smaller and more integral group. The World View of this class, therefore, must be coloured by nostalgia for a life that has disappeared. It is true that this cannot be said of the younger generation. It is nevertheless true that even here, where new cultural forces have had such strong effects, the young insist proudly on their criollo character. While North American work habits and leisure and consumption patterns are freely adopted, Americans particularly are targets of ridicule. They cannot dance, they are boorish, they have little intuition and less 'alma': they are the very antithesis of criollismo.

Further Comment

As I have said, the class or group described under the model type heading, The Middle Class, is only one segment of the total white-collar group which is involved in the advanced sector of the economy, and yet is neither oligarchic nor urban proletarian.

Other elements in this group are also white-collar. In terms of occupation they may be defined as civil servants of the lower echelons, store-keepers, salesmen of various kinds, cab-drivers in some cases, and sub-professionals such as nurses, teachers, and certain kinds of technicians.

There exist in Lima-Callao a number of suburbs which are middle-class, but which in every sense are of lower status than those mentioned above. Pueble Libre, Barranco, and Avenida Brazil are examples. Here the houses are smaller and older than in Miraflores. These suburbs are not so homogeneous as Miraflores, in that one is more likely to find in them callejones and slum pockets. The shopping centres which service them are humble by comparison with Larco and the area known as Todos. Other areas exist which have a different character: La Punta, and Magdalena del Mar, for example, are shabby by comparison with Miraflores-San Isidro, yet by tradition they are 'good' areas: to live in them is not to invite opprobrium.

There is a correspondence between the occupations and settlement patterns above and the educational facilities available. The poorer private schools have some value as indices of middle class membership, even though they are clearly not comparable with the more reputable schools in which the children of the middle class are educated side by side with scions of the Oligarchy.

This gradation obtains throughout the cultural patterns of this sector of society. If we looked at house interiors, restaurants, shoppings lists, cinemas, we would find the same kinds of difference.

Should this then be treated as a separate group, possibly a Petty Bourgeoisie model type? This would be to assume that this too was a homogenous group, whereas I think it more likely that a number of gradations exist. Formulating a new type would also imply the existence of a separate, qualitatively different, sub-culture. I cannot assume this. My impression while in Peru was that all of the elements considered above shared the same expectations. They wanted the same kinds of possession. While such types could not aspire usually to executive and professional occupations, which are largely the prerogative of the group described as the Middle Class model type, it may be suggested that from their ranks are now emerging many of the technical and scientific personnel who will fill the newkinds of positions being opened up by technological development. The insistence of the middle class proper on an excessively academic eduation as a class good, is dysfunctional in terms of national needs, and may well be so in terms of the interest of that class itself.

I also wish to argue that, just as new groups have emerged which take their lead from the middle class proper, that middle class has recently lost much of its exclusive character. In fact, as the paradigm for the middle class changes and the entire group broadens, a homogeneizing process takes place which acts to break down what I have defined as the Middle Class model type. This process is not, however, sufficiently marked as yet to justify the formulation of a new model type. For the present, the Middle Class type is, in my submission, the paradigm for other groups.

The Question of National Elites

Several groups exist within the total urban society, which have special attributes that need be mentioned. These elites, which will be specified, are not cultural types, although they may have sub-cultural aspects.

The Military Elite has always been a power in Peru. Until recently, the Military at the highest level have come from the most privileged sector of the middle classes. This has changed, so that the members of the ruling junta are mostly from distinctly lower-middle class provincial backgrounds. The Peruvian Sandhurst, the Colegio Militar at Chorrillos, near Lima, is a unique institution. The instructors there are of every ideological persuasion, and the education given to officers is apparently of a higher order than that supplied typically at universities. Hence it may be suggested that a group is increasingly emerging which, while of middle and lower-class origins, undergoes a form of socialization, and comes to occupy a position in the power structure, which mark it as a special, if small group, different in many respects from the usual members of the middle classes.

The Educational Elite or cultural elite, as we may alternatively term it, has always occupied an ambiguous position in Peruvian society. University professors come from the Middle Class model type, whereas most school teachers are of a distinctly humbler origin. Membership in such professions implies conflict with certain aspects of class. While ideas are powerful elements in social and political life, most middle class Peruvians are anti-intellectual. They read little, and are not moved by ideas. Thus the intellectual, in Peru more than in many societies, exists in contradiction to the norms of his class.

Peru has always been governed since 1821 by either military distatorship, or by constitutional puppets of oligarchic background. Nepotism and graft have always been typical. In these circumstances, the intellectual has always been a disaffiliated person, and has never been able to gain entrance to the power structure. Haya de la Torre, perhaps the only Peruvian politician of truly distinguished intellect,

has been kept from power for forty years, despite the fact that his party has always represented something like a third of the electorate, and did in fact win an election six years ago, but was prevented from taking office by military coup. Thus the intellectual elite occupy a peculiar position, and are atypical of their class. In the eyes of the general public, however, the intellectual elite are regarded with considerable esteem, and it is this ambivalence which has led Bonilla, (1966:249) to describe Latin American intellectuals as 'fractious Babbits'.

The Managerial Elite may also be briefly mentioned. As management patterns tend towards the North American model, a new group begins to emerge which is middle class in origin, but which comes to occupy what may best be termed an upper-middle class position; in terms of income and of cultural attitudes, this group has ceased to be middle class and yet it is too small numerically to be regarded as a cultural type, although it may be the precursor of a new cultural group in Peruvian life.

The Religious Elite may also be mentioned, although this group, which is to a great extent of foreign birth, and outside the social and cultural groupings I have typologized, is hard to assess here.

VII. THE OLIGARQUIA

(i) Physical Setting: The industrial and commercial elites which for the most part comprise the modern Peruvian oligarchy, have been able, through privilege, to create a largely sealed-off environment in which to live. Their palatial residences, which are typically in San Isidro, their highly exclusive beach-, golf-, and country-clubs, as well as their city clubs, are all insulated bastions of privilege, as are the Yacht Club and the inner recesses of the Hipódromo. Highly successful entrepreneurs, and the senior echelons of management from foreign corporations, may gain entrance to such charmed circles, and diplomats are implicitly acceptable.

The concept of physical setting may be extended to include the exclusive resorts of Europe and North America: the Oligarchy do not merely vacation in such places, but spend much of the year in them, and often own properties in such areas as California and the French Riviera.

(ii) The People: Typically, the Oligarch is a descendant of the early republican creole elite, or of those European elements who became involved in financial and commercial activities in Peru earlier in this century.

(iii) Forms of Work: Whereas members of this group were traditionally involved in landowning, merchant finance and light industry, they comprise the industrial, mercantile and commercial elites of modern Peru. In view of recent agrarian reforms, the degree of their involvement in non-corporate agriculture is problematical.

At this point I will discontinue the categories which have been used for other model types. The Oligarquia was an important cultural influence on Peru in earlier days, but today its cultural impact is chiefly felt through the values and attitudes which characterize the Oligarquia's discharge of its economic functions.

Studies of managerial attitudes in several Latin American nations point to a general prevalence of ascriptive, personalist, and particularist values.*

For example,

> " Latin American businessmen differ from North American ones in being:
>
> i. more interested in inner worth and justification by standards of personal feeling than they are in the opinion of peer groups.
> ii. disinclined to sacrifice personal authority to group decisions.
> iii. disliking impersonal as opposed to personal arrangements, and generally preferring family relations to those with outsiders.
> iv. inclined to prefer social prestige to money, and
> v. somewhat aloof from and disinterested in science and technology."
>
> (Cochran:1960:131)

In the section on the Creole Elite, I made the distinction that it was progressive and secular in certain respects, whereas the Spanish Elite had been Chruch- and feudally- oriented. This may seem to be in contradiction with the assertion that the descendants of that elite are ascriptive-particularist, etc.

It is surely a question of degree. The Creole Elite was still in most senses conservative, as has been pointed out. Innovation in economic affairs involved little more than a shift from state mercantilism to entrepreneurial capitalism, as far as the Creole Elite was concerned. It may also be remembered that the Creole Elite was attempting to enter the highest levels of the power structure. Today, at a national level at least, it occupies a dominant position and is more concerned with protecting the status quo.

---

* These terms derive from Parsons' pattern-variables, which are explicated by Lipset. (1966:6)

Cochran suggests how entrepreneurial behaviour is affected by elite influences, and here we may assume that we are talking of economic elites such as the Peruvian Oligarquia:

" Comparatively the Latin American complex:

i. sacrifices rigourous, economically-directed effort, or profit-maximization, to family interest.
ii. places social and personal emotional interests ahead of business obligations.
iii. impedes mergers and other changes in ownership desirable for higher levels of technological efficiency and better adjustment to markets.
iv. fosters nepotism to a degree harmful to continuously able top management.
v. hinders the building up of a supply of cooperative and competent middle-managers.
vi. makes managers and workers less amenable to constructive criticism.
vii. creates barriers of disinterest in the flow of technological communication,and
viii. lessens the urge for expansion and risk-taking."

(Cochran:1959:529)

I am not qualified to comment on the truth of these assertions with regard to Peru. Supposing that they are generally true, it seems clear that in obstructing the growth of efficient management, communications and the like, the Oligarquia is serving its own interests. It has little interest in securing further wealth, if this entails damage to what Cochran terms 'social and personal emotional interests'. Larger profit margins are not worth while if they involve the weakening of privilege which must accompany the introduction of the ideographic practices which Cochran recommends by implication.

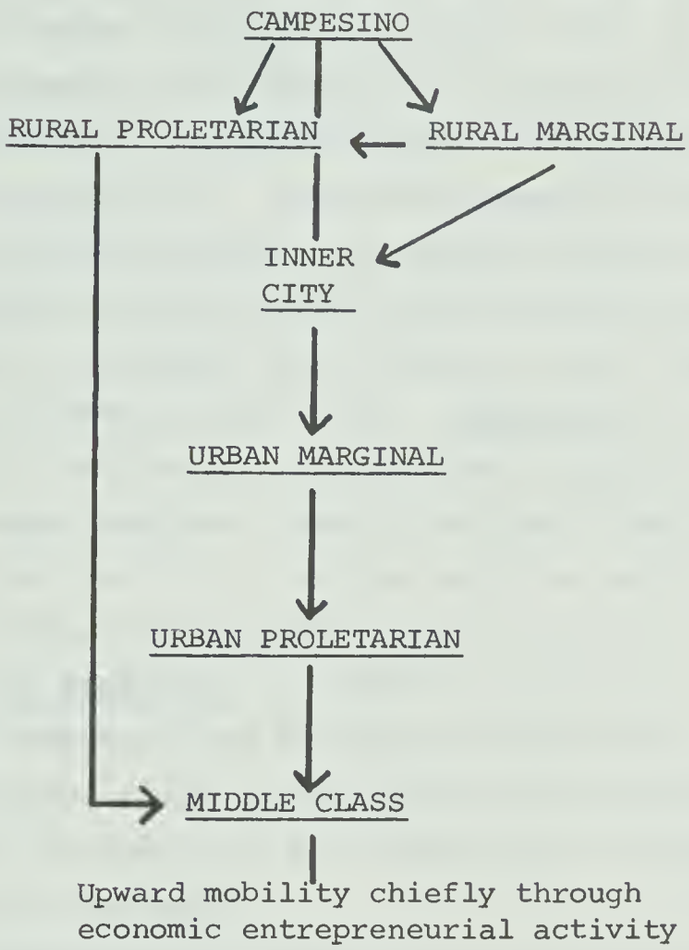
However, it would appear that the development of Peru is hindered by such practices, and that the Military and United States corporate interests, for differing motives, are anxious and able to rationalize those functions over which the Oligarchy has for so long exercised control. The emergence of a managerial elite to whom the value-orientations described by Cochran must seem anathema, is another factor

indicating the pressures for change which are building up. In this sense, a cultural understanding of the Oligarquia and its role in the economy is essential to development in Peru.

It is possible that in their own self-interest, many members of this group are deliberately revising their attitudes towards their roles in management and the economy. Here research is needed, but in the absence of suitable information, the model type hypothesized above may stand provisionally.

Fig. II

A MAP OF SOCIAL MOBILITY AMONG MODEL TYPES



N.B. The Rural and Urban Proletarian and Middle Class positions differ, it is felt, from others in this diagram in that they have a more stable character. The migrant who becomes a member of these groups frequently achieves full integration.

SOCIAL MOBILITY AND THE MODEL TYPES

Some main cultural groupings for modern Peruvian society have now been established, and the historico-economic factors which led to the emergence of such groups have been considered. The typology given in this chapter was stated in static terms: we may now consider some of the movements which take place among these model types.

In the diagram presented, (Fig. 2), the groups are located in relation to each other. The arrows connecting various groups are intended to indicate movement of population from one group to another. From this diagram, it may be seen that two kinds of movement take place. Firstly, there is a general drift from the rural, 'Campesino' areas to the urban and metropolitan areas. Campesinos may move to the cities directly, or through a transitional stage where they become part of the 'Rural Marginal' group. At first, they tend to spend some time in the inner city, seeking work, and adjusting to a new environment. After this breathing space, they move to the barriadas and become Urban Marginals, or return to the Sierra. Recent research, (Turner:1970) indicates that mobility is discernible within the Urban Marginal community, and this would seem to gain support from the argument in the treatment of this model type, that barriada localities differ greatly in character.

Some Campesinos find work in the city, and may even, in some cases, gain access to the Urban Proletariat. Many will become domestics.

From an Urban Marginal position, the migrant Campesino is able to make a permanent move into the city and suburbs, usually, although not always, in a menial job. This will usually follow a period of entrenchment during which he establishes settlement, acquires a job and begins to acquire a skill, and becomes generally familiar with the urban environment. The study made by Dietz, (1968) would seem to imply that this is a typical pattern, but allowance must be made for the large number who fail to make this adaption. Such elements may drift back to the inner city, where they may become involved in the life of crime, prostitution, crime and violence, which exists there,

and may find themselves in one of the overcrowded Lima jails and prisons. Alternatively, such elements may remain in the barriadas, in one of the clearly slum neighbourhoods.

The Campesino migrant may also locate in the enclave. Again, this may come about through direct migration, but more typically through the Rural Marginal route. Once there, he may adapt successfully to the life of the Rural Proletarian, or he may drift on to the urban coast. Another possibility is that he will work for periods of months or longer in the enclave, returning to his sierra community for long spells. This is a historic pattern for the Campesino.

Another kind of movement takes place from the city outwards. The middle and lower-middle class person from the city may move to enclaves as an administrator or technician: although he will find that most Peruvians with whom he associates in the enclave are from a similar socio-cultural background, and are criollo, life in the enclave will have tended to make them in some senses members of a special group.

The military, doctors, agronomists, engineers, police; these are all examples of urban types which may locate in rural areas for tours of duty. Other types, such as salesmen, truckdrivers, will visit rural areas on a more frequent basis, but will not locate there.

CHAPTER IV

RECENT SOCIO-POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN PERU

IMPETUS TO CHANGE V: THE NATIONAL REVOLUTION (1968 - to present)

> "The Revolutionary Government reaffirms before its workers the national and revolutionary meaning of the movement which today governs Peru. We wish to tell them that we will fulfil the duty and obligation to eject from our land all those who have caused our land to be dependent and underdeveloped."
>
> General Juan Velasco,
> The Speech at Talara,
> October 10, 1969.

During the sixties, Peru reached a stage of impasse in its political life. The three main parties were those led by Belaúnde, Odria, and Haya de la Torre. Belaunde was a liberal reformer whose programme contained strong elements of nationalist *indigenismo*, and socialist policies. Odria was the general from humble Sierra origins who had ruled Peru during the fifties. Whereas Belaúnde's appeal was primarily to the middle classes and the *campesino*, Odria appealed to lower class urban elements, and to the Oligarchy and many of the military. Haya de la Torre was the grand old man of the *Aprista* party, whose strength lay in the union membership of the industrial and plantation coast.

When the presidential term of Manuel Prado was nearing its end, new elections were held, in which none of the three candidates secured the necessary third of the national vote. The *Apristas* had 557,000 votes, Belaúnde and his *Acción Popular* 544,000, and Odria some 520,000.

(Pike:1967:299)

De la Torre and Odria, dire enemies for years, formed an uneasy coalition to force out Belaúnde, who claimed that the elections had been fraudulently managed. In an increasingly tense atmosphere, Prado was deposed before his term expired, and the military, led by General Perez Godoy, seized power and held it. In June 1963, the electorate went once more to the polls. The same three men contended for power. Belaúnde gained more than the third necessary, and became president.

There were high hopes for the Belaunde government in 1963. Belaúnde, youthful, affluent and idealistic, was compared to John F. Kennedy. Belaúnde was the first Peruvian leader who did not represent either the Oligarquia or the military, although he had the cautious blessing of the latter. During Belaúnde's period of office, Pike was able to write that

> "Belaúnde was the principal architect of a new compromise: a programme of moderation, practicality and pragmatism, but also of vitality and daring."
> (Pike:1967:320)

Before his term of office had expired, Belaúnde was ejected and the military Junta of Juan Velasco came to power.

Belaúnde's was a minority government. He was never able to hold the political power which was necessary for the success of the schemes he envisaged. As his term progressed, he lost the confidence of the military and the business sector. Corruption in public life, and foreign domination of the economy, became increasingly prevalent. The national debt spiralled, and the sol was devalued. The Belaúnde regime offered powerful fuel to the argument of those groups which asserted that constitutional government cannot work in modern Peru.

The Velasco government has taken the following actions since coming to power.

1. It has expropriated the Gulf Oil enclave at La Brea y Parinas. Belaúnde had always promised to do so, but had been obliged to temporize. The Junta refused compensation, arguing that Gulf Oil owed Peru more than the value of its entire operation, since it had exploited the nation's natural resources for so long. The Nixon administration threatened to rescind the Hickenlooper agreement and withdraw all foreign aid as a result. Recently the situation has eased, because ...

2. In December, 1969, the Junta signed an agreement permitting the establishment of a new enclave at Cuajone. By this agreement, Southern Peru Copper Corporation, an amalgam of United States owned companies, agreed to invest $355 million dollars in the copper-mining operation.

3. A decree of Agrarian Reform has been published, which is summarized in the Appendix section. Other decrees in recent years have never been seriously implemented. Since the Junta's decree was published, (June 24, 1969), 66,000 hectares of sugar corporation properties on the coast, and the 247,000 hectares of cattle and sheep ranching operations controlled by the Cerro de Pasco Corporation, have been expropriated.

   The aim of the new agrarian reform is to end exploitation by redistributing land in three ways:

(a) The larger haciendas, which may be termed corporation farms, are to be turned into cooperatives, initially under government administration.
(b) The corporate peasant communities of the Andes will be assisted, and their operations and systems of land tenure rationalized, by government action.
(c) Elsewhere, Campesinos will be granted family-size units. The purchase of these will be financed over ten years, and technical assistance provided. Present landowners will be permitted to hold such units, provided that they work the land.

The remainder of such property will be expropriated and redistributed.

4. The Junta has passed a law affecting the universities, with two apparent intentions:
(a) to make higher education more relevant to the development needs of the country, and
(b) to eliminate, or at least drastically reduce, political activity on campuses.

These steps reflect the character of Peruvian universities in recent years, a matter which is discussed more fully in Chapter V of this study.

5. The Junta has also passed important legislation dealing with irrigation, public administration, reform of the banking system, and freedom of the press.

The actions taken by the Junta have stimulated considerable analysis in newspapers and magazines. This comment has reflected, it seems, two kinds of position. Firstly, it is argued that only by nationalist military governments can nations such as Peru avoid the scylla of well-meaning but corrupt liberal, constitutional regimes, and the charybdis of Castroist revolution. The new military elites, drawn from the middle, and increasingly, lower-middle classes, have the power and the appropriate training, to resist pressures from international investment, and to enforce revolution from above. This position, which is often termed Nasserist, is taken in many nations of the third world.

Many left-wing theorists, (i.e. Petras, Stavenhagen, Casanova), argue that such juntas, while effective in promoting reform, are unable to bring about basic alterations in the power-structure, or change the essentially dependent character of economies in nations like Peru. Thus they act to perpetuate existing conditions. Petras points to the prevalence of such regimes in Latin America today as

evidence of backlash by reactionary forces, stimulated by the Nixon administration. Petras and Rimensneyder, (1970:16), describes the Velasco junta and its policies as

> "The horses of populism and nationalism hitched to the cart of developmentalism."

The decision to allow a new enclave to start operations at Cuajone is an open contradiction to early statements by Velasco, and reflects tensions within the junta. A power struggle developed within the government towards the end of 1969, between the rightists who favoured development through continuing foreign investment, and the leftists who preferred the route of nationalization and state intervention in the economy. The Right, led by Minister of Finance, Francisco Morales Bermúdez, emerged victorious. Petras and Rimensneyder predict that in the future the junta will have to sacrifice planned development to external support of their regime, if they are to stay in power.

POSSIBLE OUTCOMES OF PRESENT GOVERNMENT POLICIES

It is necessary, in order to discuss the themes of development and education in Peru, to decide what course of events in Peru in the near future is likely to be, in terms of what is known about present policies and intentions.

Five directions seem possible, and we may consider each in turn. I have arranged these policies in terms of a left-to-right political continuum.

(i) Castroist Revolution: This would entail the complete eradication of foreign domination of the Peruvian economy, and a total reconstruction of the national power structure. Although Regis Debray (1967) and other Castroists regard such an eventuality as historically inevitable, I will argue that it is unlikely in the near future, and probably for some time to come.

The wave of guerrilla activities which took place in Peru during 1965 may be seen as an attempt to employ in the Andes the tactics so successful in Cuba. Castro came to power by organizing rural focos, or guerrilla concentrations, which were extremely mobile, and largely independent of urban support. Such groups were able to move through the rural Cuban hinterland, stimulating peasant support, and descending upon the cities after the military had been met and defeated in the hills.

The enormous hinterland region of the Andes is not conducive to such foco activity. The guerrillas lose themselves in the vast terrain, and when they do emerge, are easily located and destroyed by military action.

In a review of the events of 1965, Quijano, (1968) points out that the Peruvian Campesino regards such guerrilla elements with the same suspicion with which he views the agents of the establishment of the urban mestizo coast. He sees both as outsiders who threaten his best interests, and he does not therefore support

the guerrillas, or rally to their cause. This is supported by W.F. Whyte, (1969), who observed that Campesino elements are increasingly liable to take drastic actions such as seizure of haciendas, autonomously and without stimulus from without.

Castroists in Latin America now appear to be abandoning the foco thesis advocated by Debray, and are coming to believe that revolution will instead be brought about in the way suggested by Marx and Lenin, by uprisisngs in urban areas stimulated by the activities of intelligentsia. In this respect, the Peruvian situation would again present certain problems. The Urban Proletariat, as we have seen, is a conservative group, intent on maintaining the status quo and with it, its own privileged position. The Urban Marginal who is involved with the urban economic sector, is liable also to see his best interests threatened by disruption of the status quo. The Urban Marginal who remains largely outside the main economic sector is clearly a potentially revolutionary group. However, he is being closely scrutinized by the military, and there is a recent suggestion that the military junta is quietly instituting in the barriadas a number of cell organizations which will promote Velasco's national revolution, and warn of other straws in the wind.

Should the junta, or a new military group, remain in power, it is probable that it would take one of three directions. As the first of these, and the second in our continuum, I postulate continuing military government through state socialism.

(ii) Continuing Military Government Through State Socialism:

Under this type of rule, the government would adhere to its stated intention to rid Peru of external domination, and would bring about development by progressive nationalization of the means of production, distribution and exchange. This too seems less than likely. Those elements within the junta which would support such policies have already suffered one major setback in the Cuajone affair. Should Peru attempt to 'go it alone'

economically, it would at once run into sanctions on world markets. Cuba was only able to maintain such a course because Castro inveigled Russia into propping up the Cuban economy by suddenly declaring himself a Leninist. Russia has made it abundantly clear to the third world that she does not contemplate repeating this step. In fact, there are signs that Russian leaders regard such assistance as ideologically in error, and hold that revolution must be preceded by a capitalist phase in such nations as Peru.

(iii) In the absence of such support, the Velasco junta must seek to attract foreign capital in order to promote development, while ensuring that such capital is subordinated to national needs. Cuajone is an instance of such a policy at work. Under the terms of the recently-negotiated contract, the Southern Peruvain Copper Corporation has been given a limited period in which to recover its investment and extract reasonable profits, during which time it must train Peruvian personnel. It may be expected that when these objectives have been accomplished, the operation will come more directly under Peruvian control. I regard this as the most likely direction for Peru in the next decade or so. Many government plans now being formulated, particularly with regard to education, indicate that objectives are being set for 1980, and there is every reason to assume that the government intends to hold power at least until that date.

It may not be too difficult for the Velasco junta to maintain its course. It has firm hold on Peruvian affairs. And it has demonstrated its preparedness to persist with policies which are anathema to the Oligarchy. By promoting many of the traditional aims of the Apra party, and creating cooperatives in the coastal enclaves which are the traditional centres of Apra strength, it has reduced much of the appeal of the Apristas. It has achieved a degree of rapprochement with the Nixon administration, and indicated to the forces of international investment that, while ideologically opposed to their influence in Peru, it is prepared to give them

fair if rather tough-minded treatment. It is tackling the perennial issue of agrarian reform more thoroughly than its predecessors. Finally, and this seems of paramount importance, the Junta appears to be learning the lessons of government quickly, and reducing its mistakes.

(iv) There nevertheless remains the possibility that the junta may in time become complacent and eventually corrupt. Coíma, or graft, is a fact of Latin American public life. No previous Peruvian government has been able to control it. Thus it is always possible that the junta may lose its early momentum and become a corrupt dictatorship like that of Odria during the Ochenio of the fifties.

Velasco and his colleagues seem determined to avoid this. It is already evident that this junta is qualitatively different from previous ones. A mystique of service and devotion to the national good is being built up within the military, and seems to be growing as the regime gains confidence.

(v) A final possibility is that the military junta will step down, as did that of Perez Godoy in 1963, and allow for a return to constitutional government. Because of the lessons learned from the Belaúnde administration, and the stated intention of the junta not to take this step, I regard it as unlikely. If it did happen, there is little evidence to suggest that it would not be taken as a return to factionalism and corruption. Belaúnde would appear to have been politically discredited, and the Accion Popular party which he led does not now enjoy the strength of a few years ago, especially since much of that strength derived from the charismatic, if mercurial personality of Belaúnde himself. Haya de La Torre, Manuel Suane, are commonly regarded as spent political forces, so that the political party apparatus which they managed for so long is in decline, and without vital leadership. As has been said, it is also suffering from the fact that the Junta has adopted and implemented much of its platform. The only other horse in sight

is Bedoya Reyes, an ex-mayor of Lima who is liberal, reformist-minded, and popular, and possesses the youthfulness, vitality and experience which would attract support from the electorate.

While accepting that Bedoya Reyes has potential as a political force, it is hard to see how he could succeed where Belaúnde failed, in uniting political factions, resisting the growth of corruption, and securing the power base needed to oppose the military, the Oligarquía, and the American lobby. Nevertheless, the possibility of a return to such constitutional government may be postulated as a fifth possibility.

These possibilities are diagrammatically listed in Fig.3.

Fig. III

LIKELY OUTCOMES OF PRESENT GOVERNMENT POLICY

1. A Castroist Revolution, in which the existing powerstructure would be completely altered.

2. Continuing military government, in which the present junta would seek to develop Peru through control of the economy by the state, thus freeing itself from dependence upon international investment and United States influence.

3. Continuing military government, in which the present junta would seek to promote its reforms while promoting the economy by attracting foreign investment under the conditions agreeable to Peru.

4. Continuing military government, under which increasing dependence upon foreign investment would lead the junta towards an increasingly reactionary, non-reformist position.

5. A return to constitutional government, in which the contradictions implicit in Peruvian politics would lead to compromise, and the likelihood of corruption and abandonment of policies of reform.

IMPETUS TO CHANGE V: GOVERNMENT POLICY AND EDUCATION

Keeping with my assumption that (3), Fig.3, p. 103, is the most likely direction for Peru in the future, I will consider the steps likely to be taken by the government to bring about change in the education system, and through this facilitate the national development. Information has been hard to come by, although I have been able to have recourse to documents which, in view of their largely provisional character, I will not acknowledge as references. I am also given to understand by private sources in Peru that changes in education are imminent. It is most regrettable in terms of the present study that information about these is not at present available publicly.

Peruvian Educational strategy is directed by the Instituto Nacional de Planificación-Sector Educación. It is clear that this body contemplates a wholesale reorganization of the structure of formal education in Peru. Such reorganization will seek to maximize the contribution of education to the economic and social progress of the nation, accelerate the incorporation of marginal groups, and guarantee the qualification and training of those human resources which a partially-developed nation requires. These may be defined as technical and sub-professional groups, executive management, and adequately-trained teachers.

The government, through its planning agencies, has also declared its intention of removing structural disequilibrium in Peruvian society by democratizing educational opportunity.

In order to put existing investment in education to more efficient use, the junta will concentrate on improving the quality and productivity of education, by improving the school infrastructure, re-orienting educational content, reorganizing student life, introducing new technologies, integrating at present diverse programmes, and creating a modern and decentralized administration.

It also contemplates rationalizing the social, economic and professional aspects of the hierarchy in which teachers must work, orienting and regulating the private schools, which it sees at present as enterprises

concerned more with monetary profit than with educational processes, and channelling the energies of youth towards a constructive contribution to the tasks of social, moral and material transformation of the nation.

These are some of the educational objectives of the junta, as stated in various government documents. The language used is vague and generalizing, so that it is not easy to see how such aims would be expressed in concrete reforms. It is likely, as I have said, that a more precise statement dealing with specific reforms is soon to be published. In order to obtain a picture of the educational system to be reformed, the reader is referred to the first section of the Appendix at the end of this study, where a full account is given of the structure of the educational system. This account is taken from the 'World Survey of Education', published in 1961. In many respects, it has undergone modification since then. Such modifications are considered in Chapter V, (Themes of Education and Development).

CHAPTER V

EDUCATION AND CHANGE IN PERU

THE SCOPE OF THE THESIS: SOME FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS

The design of this study was outlined in the opening chapter. Since we are now entering the second part of the thesis, in which the cultural groupings so far defined are reconsidered in the light of education, it may be helpful at this point to restate what is to be undertaken in these last two chapters.

This section will make clear my own position with regard to suggestions to be made in the last chapter, and will state the axiological assumptions which underlie such suggestions.

The section dealing with Themes of Education and Development will discuss some general aspects of the themes of education and development, as they apply to this study.

The section dealing with Education in Peru: A Description will describe the state of education in Peru at the present time, and will consider primary, secondary and higher education in that order.

The section dealing with Education in Peru: Some Interpretations will employ the same categories. However, in this section, I shall be concerned with interpretation rather than description. My position as a resident of Peru has already been made clear in the introduction of the thesis. Here I may add to this by saying that I taught for five years in primary and secondary levels of Peruvian schools, and for two years acted as principal of an enclave school attended by the American, Canadian, and other children of company executive employees, and this school also contained a section of Peruvian children. Thus I have been concerned with education in Peru as a teacher and administrator.

In this section I offer some impressions and observations derived from these experiences. Since such comments are inevitably subjective in character, I have separated them from the more straightforward factual description given in the preceding section.

Chapter VI will begin with a re-examination of the model types I postulated in Chapter III. In this final chapter I will attempt to isolate the problems which emerge for the educationalist from such cultural understandings. A central assumption of this thesis, it will be remembered, is that in formulating educational strategies, it is necessary to consider the cultural context in which such strategies will be applied. Thus I will seek to express some of the cultural difficulties which arise for the educationalist in Peru, and suggest ways in which education may be adapted to cultural realities. The chapter closes with a summary of such recommendations, and some suggested directions for further research.

One may not make suggestions of this kind, it seems to me, without implying a view of what is good for the groups to be affected, and it is vital that this axiological position be made clear. A Castroist, or an educationalist of, say, perennialist persuasion, would approach Peruvian education with differing ideas concerning Peruvian society, and their suggestions would inevitably bear the mark of such assumptions. With this in mind, I will attempt to clarify my own position.

I assume that traditional elements of Peruvian culture contain many traits which are desirable, and should if possible be preserved. I also accept that in many ways, Peruvian cultural patterns are dysfunctional to development and progress. Endearing as the dedicated laziness and chaotic sense of humour of many criollos may be, it seems true to say that such traits often inhibit the development of rational work-forms which are essential to industrial development, and of the responsible concern for others which must exist beyond the personal level if Peru's chronic social problems are to be removed.

I have previously indicated that I regard a Castroist society as an unlikely development for Peru. If I am proved wrong by events, this study will have become hopelessly redundant.

Neither do I regard constitutional government as an effective answer to Peru's problems. For reasons already stated, I assume that for the present it is not workable. This does not mean that I reject democratic ideas in education: I hold, for example, that equality of opportunity is a right for members of any society, that teachers and professors should be trusted as responsible, value-oriented, professional persons, to chart their courses autonomously, and that in a free society the dangers implicit in such freedoms may be corrected by the democratic process itself. I also maintain, however, that in a society dominated by privilege and inequitable distribution of property and income, powerful forces are at work which act to coerce education in the services of their own interests. Freedom to have one's children educated at an elite private school is hardly freedom for the majority who cannot afford it. Freedom to utilize the university as a forum for political ideas is of little point if it prevents the university from fulfilling other functions, such as the training of scientific and professional personnel needed for the development which will end social inequality and foreign domination of the economy. In short, my axiological position is that what is desirable and good must not be defined in generally abstract or ideological terms in the Peruvian case; such goods are frequently in conflict, and one must choose what is best in the circumstances.

The circumstances, as I see it, are that Peru has for the present a form of government which is the most likely to bring about autonomous economic development. It is the only one of the existing agencies likely to promote effective management techniques. It appears dedicated to reducing social inequalities and broadening the economy so that the majority of Peruvians may participate. It seems to be aware of the risks of fascist and personality-cult developments which are implicit in any form of government which rules by force rather than consent. To the extent that the present trend in government represents themes of responsibility, it seems to me to be leading in appropriate directions.

Thus my suggestions for Peruvian education are underpinned by the belief that economic development and autonomy are desirable, but that in planning for these, government agencies must act in ways that will do as little damage as possible to the way of life of Peruvians in the model types I have proposed. The Urban Marginal must be encouraged to participate in the economy without being exposed to undue stress and alienation. The Rural Proletarian's low status in enclave hierarchies should be ameliorated. The Campesino should be helped to preserve, not only his contacts with the land, but the way of life which is predicated on this, and if that way of life is to be disrupted by his conversion to more competitive methods of exploitation, care should be taken to keep the disruption at a minimal level.

The middle classes should be protected from the dangers of cupidity and greed implicit in capitalist consumption patterns, and brought to the realization that in a society straining to develop its human and natural resources, class interests must be subordinated to national interests. Perhaps the hardest task of all is to bring home to the Oligarquia the self-evident fact that its privileges are a luxury the nation cannot afford, and that it must either assume a functional role in management of the economy, or bow out in favour of more efficient groups.

These remarks do not amount to an integrated philosophic position, but they do indicate a view of the national good which is roughly consistent, and more than narrowly developmental.

THEMES OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Most surveys of Peruvian Education refer to the conditions of a decade ago, and works dealing with education and development generally base their discussion on the situation described in such surveys. Since much has happened in Peru since that time, such studies must be judged of doubtful utility. A variety of documents has been issued during the writing of this thesis by the Peruvian Minesterio de Educacion and other government agencies, and these will form the basis of my own descriptions.

Studies by such agencies indicate that educational planners in Peru are well aware of what is wrong, and the remedies they contemplate are those prescribed for partially-developed societies generally.

A recent document states that

> "as the population increases, the quality of general education declines, technological education fails to develop at a constant rate, and the system resists processes of change and reform ... Education in rural areas is neglected ... The needs of Peruvian society and the requirements in terms of human resources have little functional relation with the kind of educational qualification provided by the system. These tendencies are apparent with regard to educational opportunities, low return from the system, rises in costs , scarcity of resources, limited employment of new educational technology, deficient curriculae which limit the growth of scientific methods and the inadequate utilization of resources, especially financial ones, with regard to education."
>
> (Sistema Nacional de Planificación-Sector Educación - 1970)

Such a statement might apply to any one of twenty or thirty nations approximately in Peru's position in terms of development. Most works on education and development contain similar lists of problems which, if attended to, would improve the country's economic situation.

Harbison and Myers, (1964) in possibly the best-known and most widely referred-to of such works, made a study of seventy five nations and their levels of development. They constructed a composite index for each country, based upon statistics for the following: per capita gross national product, per cent of population in agriculture, stocks of high-level manpower, enrollment rates in educational establishments, higher education orientations, expenditures on education as percentages of national income, and percentages in the 5-14 age group.

By grading nations in terms of their showing in these variables, Harbison and Myers feel that they have been able to indicate degrees of development among the seventy five nations considered in their study. They have divided these nations into four groups, which they term 'under-developed, partially-developed, semi-advanced and advanced'.

One may wonder whether a scheme such as this, which places Belgium, New Zealand and the Netherlands among the five most developed nations of the world, and considers Argentina more advanced than Czechoslovakia and Italy, is not a little arbitrary. Mainland China, which now produces three quarters as many scientists and engineers as the United States, is ranked behind Ecuador and Jamaica in Harbison and Myer's paradigm.

Nevertheless, Harbison and Myer's work is very useful in some respects. One may not really believe in some of their findings, but they do provide a useful set of statistics for cross-national comparisons. It is helpful in present terms, for example, to know exactly what progress is needed in the categories specified, in order for Peru to arrive at the same level of development as, for example, Argentina and Uruguay, which are by general consensus the most developed nations in the whole Latin American area. The study by Harbison and Myers is to some extent cross-ideological, which is also helpful. That is to say, it provides indices which permit comparisons to be made between nations of the industrial West, the Russian and Asian communist blocks, and the third world.

A chief danger, in my opinion, of such works is that they are not always used intelligently by educationalists. The Peruvian case may be an example of this. Applying Harbison and Myers to the Peruvian instance, we find that by altering a number of developmental variables, Peru might bring itself to the level of semi-advanced nations. This, we are told, would require a fifty per cent increase in primary facilities, accompanied by increases of one hundred and two hundred per cent at the secondary and higher levels respectively. I would object to this that as of the present, Peru could improve its primary facilities by three hundred per cent and would still have the same problems to cope with. It is the quality of education which needs attention, and since this is greatly dependent on the value-orientations and degrees of awareness of primary teachers in this instance, it is the cultural variables which must undergo change rather than the quantitative ones considered by Harbison and Myers.

To return briefly to the quotation on p. 110, it is quite possible to imagine a state of events in which the educational shortcomings of Peru as there stated could be put to rights, and yet the educational system would still fail to achieve the results expected of it.

I have argued earlier that in order to settle educational questions it is often paradoxically necessary to begin with cultural questions. It may be said here that beginning with developmental assumptions is as likely a source of error as beginning with educational ones.

As an example of this, we may return again to the quotation on page 110. It is possible to conceive of all the defects pointed to in that passage as having been put to rights. But what might be the latent functions of such action? Or to put it differently, what changes in socio-cultural life would be brought about by such adjustment? What would be entailed for the Campesino, or the Urban Marginal, for instance? We cannot know, since such a view of education pays little heed to cultural factors.

Education is a process: it is dangerous to treat it as the central variable. For example, operating on the educationalist's assumption that literacy is desirable, we may posit schemes to reduce illiteracy, and find that we have created within society a large, unemployable group of unskilled, disgruntled literates. Acting upon the assumption that education should be made more democratic, which in North America is often blindly accepted as a first principle, we may democratize education in a nation like Peru, by watering down standards in private schools, on the grounds that it is unjust that an elite minority should maintain educational privilege. It may be so, but in a society which depends on its elites for leadership in most spheres of public life, it may in the long term be more democratic to ensure that at least the elite is receiving an education worthy of the name.

With the above discussion in mind, we may turn now to an examination of formal education in Peru.

EDUCATION IN PERU: A DESCRIPTION

The various levels and kinds of education offered are depicted diagrammatically in Fig. 4.

Kindergarten, (Jardin de Infancia) is followed at age six by one year of Transicion, which corresponds roughly to North American Grade One. Primary school, (Escuela Primaria), then follows, for up to five years. In rural areas, more restricted programmes apply. These affect only the Campesino model type, and are therefore considered in that section in Chapter VI.

Four routes are possible at the secondary level. Segunda Ensenanza Comun is the academic secondary route leading to university. Segundaria Tecnica offers agricultural, commercial and industrial programmes. The Colegio Militar provides for university entrance, in addition to its military programmes.

There are several kinds of universities in Peru. The San Marcos and Catolica universities represent traditional patterns in Peruvian university studies. Derived from the Bologna model, their pattern had changed little until recently, when government legislation was passed aimed at rationalizing their operations.

During the past decade, privately-owned campuses have been established in Lima, which resemble those of North America. In many provincial cities there are small universities which were founded during colonial times.

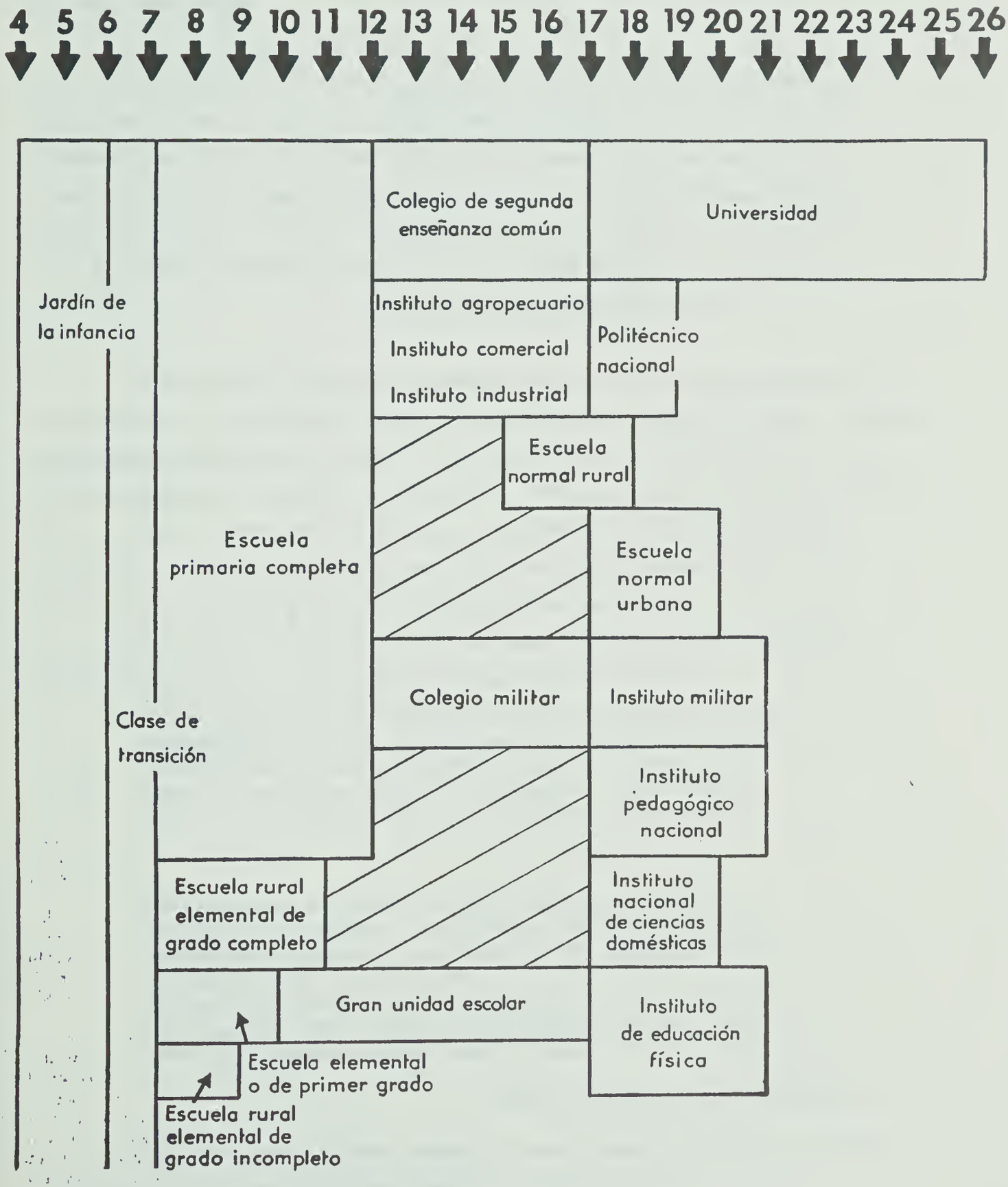
In addition to the universities, the National Polytechnic and the Instituto Pedagogico Nacional may be mentioned. The former provides higher education in technical areas, and the latter is the national teachers' training college.

Taking 5 to 24 as the national population of school age, it can be said that in 1960 there were 4.5 million students enrolled in formal education programmes. By 1965 the figure had grown to 5.3 millions. 8.6 millions are predicted for 1980. In 1968, there was a national per capita average of 2.6 grades of schooling completed.

(Ministerio de Educación)

THE PERUVIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Fig.



PRIMARY EDUCATION

In 1960, 63.7% of the population aged 5-12 was enrolled. This had grown to 74.4% in 1965. An enrollment of 94.6% is anticipated for 1980. In 1968, 42.18% of primary schools were one room units. Of these, only 29.8% offered the full primary course. Only 14% of the staff had professional certification. In 1965, 77.7% of the enrollment was over nine years old.

(Ministerio de Educación:1970)

Since adult literacy programmes are as yet little developed, illiteracy is a problem handled largely by the primary system. Recent government estimates calculate the percentage of illiterates in the total population aged 15, at 32.6 for 1969, a drop of 5.4% since 1961. Due to general population increase, the number of illiterates has increased in absolute terms, and only from 1974 onwards can a reduction in illiteracy in absolute terms be foreseen.

The aims of Primary education have been lengthily defined by the Ministerio. Some brief extracts may be given:

> "These plans and syllabuses are based on the fact of nationality ... the syllabuses for the third year onwards begin with the child's home surroundings, then go on to the district, province, department, Peru, and ideas concerning the world in general."

> "The teaching is based on the fundamental psychopedagogic concept of 'learning by doing' ... under the heading 'notions' are listed all the essential truths a child should know ...
> As regards content, these plans and syllabuses are made up of a basic programme, which condenses the essential facts a child should know."

(World Survey of Ed.:1961:842)

Thus the aims of such education are stated in terms in which progressive and essentialist thought is oddly mixed.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

In 1964, Harbison and Myers stated a 16.2% enrollment at this level, compared with a mean figure of 12.4% for partially-developed nations generally, and compared to means of 27% for semi-advanced nations and 59% for advanced nations. The Peruvian ministry gives a figure of 15.5% for the 13-18 age group in 1960, moving to 25.2% in 1965, and predicts a 39.8% enrollment for 1980.

Harbison and Myers' enrollment figures may be broken down as follows:

Academic:	79%
Commercial:	9%
Industrial:	8%
Agricultural:	2%
Normal:	2%

(Harbison and Myers:1964:182)

At the time of writing, students were expected to complete six or more courses in preparation for university entrance exams, which are taken after highschool graduation. Throughout secondary school in academic streams, examination is by written and oral methods, the latter being supervised by a visiting inspector, known as the Jurado.

A recent government document states that 83.4% of the total enrollment for 1968 was entered in the academic stream.

> "A prejudiced attitude still exists with regard to the forms of technical education available. This affects the flow of students to the academic schools, especially since these are the main route to higher education ... In this way, the excessive production of highschool graduates in education and the humanities is allowed to continue, while the nation is obliged to attract personnel from abroad to fill skilled positions. The high proportion of highschool graduates without training for productive work created demand for university places. Meanwhile, there is a dire lack of trained sub-professional and technical personnel."

A recent study by the Ministerio de Educación gave the following projection for 1970. It estimated that in the academic schools, there would be an overall enrollment of 582,400 students. Of these, 498,300 would enrol in state schools, and 89,200 in private schools.

(Ministerio de Educación-Division de Estadistica: 1969)

In closing, the articles from the 'World Survey of Education' which are reproduced in the Appendix section may be once more referred to. The timetables of study given on p. 945 are now out of date, but serve to indicate the general character of secondary academic studies over the past decade.

HIGHER EDUCATION

This topic is dealt with briefly here, since it receives expanded treatment in later sections. (Chapter VI). An informative essay on the Peruvian university by Carlos Cueto Fernandini has been thought so relevant that it is reproduced in its entirety in the Appendix.

University is unquestionably the prerogative of the middle and upper classes. In 1964, 2.8% of the relevant age group was involved in higher education. Of these, 31.3% were enrolled in sciences and technology, and 41.6% in Law, the Arts and the Humanities.

(Harbison and Myers:1964:46)

These figures conflict with those from other sources, and this matter, since it involves interpretation, will be reconsidered in the following section.

It has recently been established that some 28,000 Peruvian students are enrolled in universities outside Peru. This may be compared with an average freshman enrollment of 2,500 at the Universidad de San Marcos.

(Wall Street Journal:Oct.28:1968)

EDUCATION IN PERU: SOME INTERPRETATIONS

PRIMARY EDUCATION

In order to attempt a realistic, if impressionistic, picture of Peruvian education, I will offer some observations based on personal experiences.

As I have explained, I taught in a private school, one of the most prestigious of the Lima colegios particulares: I was also principal of an American-Peruvian primary school in a mining enclave for two years.

The teachers at both schools were selected from the best available, and received salaries above the national average, although British and North American teachers on the same staff were paid approximately double. Thus my comments are not typical perhaps, but it is true that primary teachers in other Peruvian schools could be expected to be less well-qualified than those I mention, and were certainly obliged to work with much larger classes in much less adequate facilities.

In these two schools, the teacher-student ratio was low. I would guess at an average figure of less than 1-20, compared to 1-37 for the nation generally. Such teachers were predominantly female, and had from two to four years' post-secondary training, which in terms of time, compared favourably with their imported counterparts.

Within the classroom, students were formally seated in rows. Teaching was typically by the lecture, 'chalk-and-talk' method. Copious notes were written up to be copied, even by children of nine and ten years of age. There were no class libraries or bookshelves. Texts were poorly illustrated, used small print, and were cheaply produced.

The texts were written by Peruvians. Texts are prescribed by the Ministerio. Thus the author of an approved text is assured of nation-wide sales. Since Ministerio payola is often involved in getting a text accepted for school use, the set text is not necessarily the best available. There are exceptions to this. Some texts are ordered from abroad. Some texts by Peruvians are of high quality, for example, those by the late Dr. Coronado.

Visual aids, films and the like, were little used, although in both schools a large selection was available. There was little free activity, except at examination time, when students were allowed large amounts of time to memorize answers to the questions they were to be asked. Examination usually involved the ability to recall discrete facts.

While English and North American teachers usually pressed me for more adequate art supplies, I could never persuade Peruvian teachers to order these, and the idea that they might have some utility beyond art classes was not easily communicated. When I ordered such supplies for them, they were seldom used.

I would relate such practices to two factors: the value-systems of the teachers, and the Peruvian examination structure. I found the Peruvian teachers I supervised to be traditional- and conservative-oriented in the extreme. Devoutly Catholic, and largely ignorant of political and economic explanations of society, such teachers sought to inculcate the values of Catholic middle-class society as they perceived these. They assumed, as does the philosophic statement of official primary aims, that knowledge of what is good and what is real has been defined, and may not be expected to change. Thus it is the duty of the teacher to transmit such knowledge. These teachers, however, did not make the all-important distinction between transmission and assimilation.

From the early years, Peruvian school children must cope with formal examinations. Once written exams have been completed, each child from grade three onwards is examined by a panel of three teachers. To a child of that age, the panel of secretario, jurado and presidente is an awesome ordeal. The examination calls for answers to factual questions. Highest marks tend to go to the children with the best memories and the steadiest nerves. The role of the teacher is thus to prepare her students for such ordeals. The test is also a test of the teachers, who become very nervous as examinations come near.

Corrupt practices are often met. Parents will seek to influence teachers, sometimes by appeals to ties of kin or friendship, sometimes

by what I can best describe as intimidation by displays of social class-membership, and often by bribery. I have been approached by the principal of another school whose boy I taught. He offered me an open bribe, and I am sure, put my refusal down to ignorance of Criollo ways, rather than to any squeamishness on grounds of principle.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

Much that has been said of primary education remains true here. Private education remains the prerogative of the middle and upper classes. In 1969, figures from the statistics department of the Ministerio de Educacion showed that of 187,000 students enrolled in the first year of secondary education in academic streams, 19.8% were attending private schools; in other words, one tenth. In the fifth grade of secondary education, more than one fifth of the total were in private schools. If we assume from Chaplin's figures that the Urban Proletariat is 600,000 strong, and few children from this group attend private schools, we may calculate that for every thirteen members of the Urban Proletariat, only one child completes secondary education at best.

As often happens in under-developed nations, the academic stream is perceived by students and parents as the only elevator to the most desirable careers. Because of this, students who have not been able to complete such studies will often complete a form of vocational secondary school, with a view to transferring to the academic stream later. Such attitudes also imply that children perceive the learning experience as of little point except in its escalatory function.

> "The great majority of parents and children continue to believe that the best form of secondary education is the general or classical highschool, because it takes one to the threshold of the university. Not all can cross that threshold. Many, considering their socio-economic status, have little possibility of doing so. However, almost all behave as if they entertain the hope that, inspite of all obstacles, they will attain their goal. In actual fact, highschool education is terminal for the great majority, but even if the high expectations are not fulfilled, the academic school fulfils a lesser, though socially acceptable function, of opening the doors to bureaucratic positions. Either way, it is identified with non-manual work. Technical education continues to be viewed as an inferior form of secondary school, because it has been linked to manual labour. The business school is looked upon as an intermediate form because it is a path to non-manual labour. The accent is on status."
>
> (Solari:1967:475)

Some doubt exists as to teacher-value orientations at this level. Unlike primary education, female teachers do not predominate at secondary level. My personal impression is that male teachers are better educated in a general if not in a formal sense, since they are not protected as are women in middle-class society. Men were in my experience more aware of political and economic causes of social phenomena, and, as heads of families, more disturbed about their inadequate incomes than were women. Gouveía, in her studies of teacher value-orientations in neighbouring Brazil, comes to different conclusions:

> "Of particular importance is the finding concerning the continued strength of religious belief among this highly educated stratum of secondary teachers ... and as might be expected, sex proved to be a more or less constant source of variations in opinions. Women were more concerned with religion, and more likely to adhere to local cultural patterns. Sex differences apart, however, individual backgrounds in background-social origin and level of education did not differentiate opinions... the findings are pessimistic with regard to prospects for modernization. Clearly, the secondary teachers of Brazil, as reflected by these data, are relatively traditionalistic in outlook. They remain committed to the predominant influence of religion: they are not prepared to place a high value on economic development: they have a fairly traditional outlook on the function of education, as a form of character-building."
>
> (Gouveía, in Solari:1967:10)

HIGHER EDUCATION

Harbison and Myers find that the major problems in higher education in partially-developed nations are:

(i) Over-emphasis on faculties of humanities, law, arts and medicine, and under-emphasis on engineering and the sciences.

(ii) Low quality of education, resulting from poorly-qualified part-time teachers, inadequate libraries, and poorly-equipped laboratories.

(iii) Under -development of intermediate technical and sub-professional education.

(iv) Poor university organization, and stultifying instruction, and,

(v) in some cases, balkanization or dispersion of higher education among too many institutions or separate faculties.

(Harbison and Myers:1964:85)

These assertions apply generally to partially-developed nations. Various comments from government publications indicate that they apply in the case of Peru. I will discuss each point in regard to Peru.

(i) "In 1957, of the 10,442 students enrolled at San Marcos, 18% were studying science, 20% medicine, 18% Arts, 12% commerce, 11% Law, and 5% Education. 22% of the students were women."

(Owens:1963:85)

Although enrollments in higher education have increased, by 3.4% in 1960, and 6.6% by 1965, the distributions indicated above seem to have remained fairly constant, as Whyte's statistics for 1961 indicate. (Whyte: in Harbison and Myers:1964:60)

(ii)

> "One of the tragedies of education here, as elsewhere in South America, is that nobody can make a living wage just by teaching. A lecturer at San Marcos begins on a salary of around $70. a month. A full professor gets $280. I heard of one teacher who sells electrical appliances at night. Another acts on T.V. The libraries are inadequate, and texts inferior. As a rule, the professor sells his own mimeographed notes as a text."
>
> (Gunter:1966:370)

Sources in Peru have informed me that in the last year of the Belaúnde regime, assistant professorswere earning over $400. a month, but that the Junta has now cut this back by 40%. Two points need to be made clear. Firstly, the style of teaching in Peru has traditionally consisted of lecturing on abstract themes. Texts were not widely used, not because they were not available, (Peruvian universities in 1821 had the best libraries in Latin America), but because the professor was expected to demonstrate his distinction by a fine rhetorical style and facility in explaining abstract concepts. (see Cueto Fernandini's article in the Appendix section). I am not suggesting that such styles are functional in terms of present needs. It is, however, unrealistic to regard the Peruvian university as a poor cousin of North American institutions, especially since it derives from a quite different tradition:

> "Bologna was ... a corporation of students. There, the students engaged the professors, set the terms of their contracts, and reminded them in various ways that they were hired men... All Latin American universities except those of Brazil have an organization and administration resembling the Bologna model. Some observers believe that the recrudescence of the Bologna type may be characteristic of under-developed countries, where economic and social conditions make it relatively easy to transform large groups of young people into political instruments."
>
> (Benton:1961:123)

This view of Latin American universities no longer applies to Peru. A recent decree has restricted student political activities, and put the university organization on a footing similar to that which obtains in North America. Also, as has been said, many new campuses are opening which do not owe their administrative styles to Bologna, but to Paris and the United States.

(iii) I can make little comment here, since I have been unable to locate relevant material. Cornhels, for example, in a paper devoted to forecasting manpower requirements for Peru, fails to deal with this area. The comments quoted from Solari above may serve as a guide to value-orientations regarding sub-professional and technical training.

(iv) This would seem to have been treated in (ii).

(v) Balkanization does exist in Peru. There are provincial universities in Trujillo, Ayacucho, Cuzco and Arequipa. These campuses are expressions of the traditional pride of these cities. They are smaller and less adapted to the modern needs of Peru generally, than the universities of Lima.

Having described the Peruvian Education System, and offered some impressions and interpretations from a personal viewpoint, I now wish to return to a cultural perspective. In the next section, the model types are re-considered in the light of Culture and Education in Peru.

CHAPTER VI

CULTURE AND EDUCATION IN PERU

THE MODEL TYPES REVISITED: SOME PROBLEMS IN EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AND SOME RECOMMENDATIONS.

(i) The Campesino:

As was stated in the last chapter, the type of education provided in rural areas differs from that provided for the remainder of the society. Only the children of the Campesino are affected by this education, since all other model types are urban, if we may regard the enclaves as urban communities.

> "Rural primary schools are divided into elementary 'first grade' schools, (themselves classified as full elementary schools, with a four-year course, and incomplete or 'minimum' schools, with a two-year course and complete 'second grade' rural schools and pre-vocational rural schools, equipped with a garden and a patch of ground for practical agricultural work.
>
> In rural areas, certain new forms of school organization are being developed to suit the special needs of the community, and are known as 'co-ordinated school units'. They include: the rural nuclear schools, nucleos escolares campesinos, each about twenty subsidiary schools, escuelas seccionales, distributed within a radius of some kilometres from the centre; and central community schools, escuelas rurales de concentracion de communidades, designed to serve large areas inhabited by scattered Indian communities. These schools are situated in valleys, where the situation makes them natural assembly points for the school population."
>
> (World Survey of Education:1961:852)

The above facilities were provided in Peru until recently. The nature of the changes which are now being made is not yet clear. When considering these facilities, it is necessary to take into account the vast geography of the Sierra, the limited budget assigned to rural education, and the hopelessly inadequate supply of teachers already referred to. (Chapter V).

It is likely that in much of the Sierra, the comments of Nuñez del Prado (1955) still apply:

> "Formal education for natives is still very deficient, and its results meagre. The schools are provided by the state or by religious bodies, and are mestizo, not native, institutions. The mestizos are not particularly concerned about native education, and the natives are suspicious of mestizo efforts in this direction. In all the places visited by the I.L.O. mission where there were schools, the number of literates is minimum. We found one case in which a school had been functioning for more than ten years without teaching a single person to read; among the factors responsible for this situation are:
> (i) lack of understanding of rural conditions on the part of the teacher
> (ii) resistance on the part of the natives to sending their children to school
> (iii) teaching methods poorly adapted to the conditions.
> (iv) the language difference."
>
> (Nuñez del Prado:1955:12)

It may be argued that there are two aspects to rural educational programming which pose problems.

(i) The education provided is largely dysfunctional. In seeking to provide facilities which will lead to widespread literacy and completion of the primary stage of schooling in campesino areas, the Peruvian system fails, for the following reasons:

(a) .... The Sierra is too large, and the communities too isolated, for adequate facilities to be provided at this stage of national development.

(b) .... The teachers are undertrained, and so enculturated in criollo attitudes that they are not typically able to relate to the campesino.

(c) .... While the defined programmes may have merit, the existing facilities do not allow them to be implemented.

(ii) Even were it possible to implement such programmes, by improving the facilities implied in the above variables, the system would still be dysfunctional. This is because there is no place in the campesino community for successful products of the educational system. The successful student will go to the urban community.

This is not desirable. To increase the ranks of the semi-educated urban unemployed is to add to the strains in Peruvian society.

It has previously been pointed out that in the interests of the national good and its own survival, the existing power-structure should seek to keep the campesino on the land. It may seem truismatic to point out that it should also make his condition sufficiently acceptable so that he chooses to remain on the land, rather than join the flow to the cities. In such a policy, it is suggested that education could perform a crucial function.

The agrarian reform programme has provided a basis for such a policy. If, as is feared, this is receiving less emphasis than was the case a year ago, then it must be realized that such a slow-down may be ultimately disastrous. The campesino is not a powerful power-group. However, wise national planning should undertake to meet needs rather than assuage power-groups.

The agrarian reform seeks to relocate campesinos on family-size farms, and rationalize existing communal operations. Technical and other assistance will be made available to the campesino. In educational terms, the following observations seem important:

(i) An educational system in which primary education and a wide degree of literacy among campesino children is emphasized, will not assist the reform greatly. In order to operate family farms, adult literacy will be necessary. The campesino will have to be taught

how to utilize his lands to best advantage, and how to cope with the financing and merchandising aspects of the operation. For this, a degree of literacy will be imperative.

However, it is the campesino rather than his offspring who will need such education. In partially-developed nations, priorities must be established. It may be argued that the agrarian reform may only succeed if the funds at present devoted to primary education in the sierra are redirected towards educating the campesino. The last priority for Peru at the present time is a large group of literate young people drifting to the cities. The first priority surely is a stable, functioning rural agriculture.

If education is to be of use in assisting the growth of such a situation, then the following may need to be considered:

(i) Interactions between the campesino and the education system:

The peasant is distrustful of schooling. This partly derives from the fact that the school is apart from the community, and the teachers are not campesinos.

In the first place, then, the school may be brought to the campesino. Teachers may enter the community, and live there in order to understand and obtain the trust of the people. This may mean that classroom facilities will have to be dispensed with. Perhaps they should be dispensed with.

Peruvian education is built upon the premise that the teacher 'knows' things which the student must learn. In the case under consideration, such premises serve no purpose. The teacher should be trained to consider himself as a resource person, able to help because of his training, and above all, trained to know what help may be needed and where to find it. The nuclear centres which at present exist for primary education could be staffed with technical experts. The role of the teacher would then be to gain the trust of the campesino, and understand enough of the language of the specialist to be able to link the campesino with the right sources which would assist him in his problem-solving.

In such a programme, a new kind of 'teacher' would be needed. It is argued here that the traditionally-oriented, middle-class primary teacher is the last person one would expect to function successfully in such a situation. The primary teachers could be relocated in the towns and cities, where there is a demand for their skills. Other people could be trained for the role of resource personnel in campesino communities. This would mean emergency training centres, but this is not a difficult proposition. From the large number of redundant white-collar workers in the cities, persons could be usefully trained in this role. Here, the major problem would be the mestizo-oriented cultural assumptions which such persons were liable to make about their role, and about campesinos.

Several points may be made with regard to this problem:

(i)... such training centres would need a strong leavening of courses devoted to cultural aspects of development, which would provide the student not only with a relative view of his own cultural orientation, but an ideological commitment to his task. The idea of a nationalist revolution has been employed most effectively by Velasco and the Junta. Nacionalismo is a powerful word in Peru. If by the use of the media and other approaches the role of the resource man could be given the status and heroic connotations it receives, for example, in Cuba, its attraction would be increased. The Junta might also consider offering incentives: for example, a free lot in Lima after a suitable term of service.

(ii)..the military seems set to retain power for some years, according to some commentators. It might well be possible for the military itself to undertake the provision and training of such personnel from within its own ranks. It possesses the following advantages in this respect:

(i) a supply of personnel drawn from rural areas.

(ii) the capacity to dispose its personnel throughout the nation, without regard to the wishes of the personnel themselves.

(iii) existent and apparently progressive facilities for instruction in development and the social sciences. These would gain from the expansion implied by such a scheme.

Assuming the reform is seriously implemented in the future, the question of how the campesino will adapt to the socio-cultural changes implicit in the transformation of peasants into family farmers must be considered. Three choices are suggested:

(i) The question may be ignored, leaving the campesino to work out his own adjustment.

(ii) The transition may be directed by personnel with a mestizo-, coastal-urban-, Spanish-, middle-class cultural orientation.

(iii) The campesino could be encouraged to make the change selectively; he could be persuaded to adopt what was indispensable from the innovations available, while allowed to retain elements of his present way of life.

One prominently held view suggests that rapid change may be more easily adjusted to by a culture than a slow discontinuous process, which allows divisions to arise between generations, the sexes, family members and generally results in fragmentation and maladjustment to life. Groups who are possessed of a clear tradition of culture may be able as a community, to change their entire way of life in a short space of time, and take on new ways, provided they are presented with living models of the new culture.

In the Peruvian case, no new model is available. The campesino is the sierra, and has been, through Inca, Spanish, and Creole rule.

Government policies may in the future be directed towards removing illiteracy in rural areas by modern methods of communication. According to recent information the campesino's value system derives from the land, and educational planning which does not take account of the link between the campesino's way of life and his ecological circumstances is doomed to failure.

> "A Nigerian chief spoke the mind of the less-developed portion of the world when he said: "I conceive that land belongs to a vast family, of which many are dead, few are living, and countless numbers are still unborn."
>
> Charles Bowles, in "Ambassador's Report", puts it this way: "I have come to believe that the key to an understanding of Asian villagers is a special reverent conception of land as the source of all wealth and goodness, which those who till the land on every continent seem to have in common."

In this respect, the latest thinking of the Peruvian government appears to disregard such cultural factors, as the following recent statement implies:

> "Rural education shall be organized to offer to children who abandon the land the minimum basic education necessary for national life, while those who remain in rural areas will also be able to benefit from a complementary agricultural education, not of the traditional kind, but geared to the new organization of the land, which will require human resources able to utilize new techniques of production and marketing, and participate efficiently in cooperatives and community development."

But to bring about such change, without explicitly considering the cultural variables involved, is to court diaster. This, however is merely a recommendation. Removal of illiteracy requires precisely-planned measures. In this regard we may make use of existing studies. Holmberg has explained how the campesinos of Vicos were assisted towards effective change in their exploitative methods, and in their society. The Vicos study is too well-known to require elaboration here. We may however point to it as an example of what may be achieved when the agent of change sees his role as directive in a supportive, rather than an imperative way. In short, the changes which will accompany the

transition from tenant-farmer and sharecropper to family farmer must surely take note of the work done in Peru by the Cornell group.

It is a truism among Peruvians that the Indian is secretive and obstinate. Such stereotyping says as much about mestizos as about Indians. When motivated to improve himself, the Indian is liable to be an efficient activist. Above all, he will stand in need of the right kind of enlightened support.

It may be argued that the preceding suggestions might be effective in assisting the campesino through a difficult transitional process, but that they do not explain how the problem of illiteracy in the sierra would be tackled. This is a crucial point, since a degree of literacy is going to be required of campesinos if they are to adapt to the new circumstances proposed in the reform.

Formal education agencies have been struggling unsuccessfully with this problem for years. In Cuba, 707,000 out of 979,207 illiterates were taught to read and write during 1961, the 'Year of Education'.(Fagen:1964:11)

Such claims may be judged optimistic. People cannot be made instantly literate. A follow-up process is essential, if they are not to regress. However, the Cuban example surely contains a moral for Peru.

The principle behind the Cuban literacy campaign was to mobilize all available resources in a total attack on the illiteracy problem. Strategically planned and tactically organized by government, the campaign drew its foot-soldiers from the ranks of the urban literate. There were four types:

1. Conrado Benitéz Brigandistas: These were primarily young volunteers, recruited from school and trained quickly to serve as teachers for the duration of the campaign. They lived and taught in the more rural areas of the country.

2. Alfabetizadores populares: popular alphabetizers. This group was composed primarily of adults who volunteered to teach, often in their spare time, in the cities and towns.

3. '<u>Patria o muerte</u>' worker <u>brigandistas</u>: These were urban workers who served as teachers in more remote areas under an arrangement whereby their fellow-workers filled in for them on the job. The scheme was designed to augment the teaching force from the urban work force without substantially weakening the latter.

4. Schoolteacher <u>Brigandistas</u>: <u>Maestros y Profesores Brigandistas</u> These were professional schoolteachers who served primarily in technical and organizational positions during the campaign. Most participated full-time after April 1961, when primary schools throughout Cuba were closed for the remainder of the year.

Belaúnde tried to operate such a scheme, but on a half-hearted basis. He was not able to mobilize the total commitment of resources needed.

The Junta might well attempt such a campaign. It has the authority required for such a venture.

Such a campaign would serve several useful purposes, not only for the campesino but for the nation and the Junta itself.

(i) It would go further towards achieving the primary aim of removing illiteracy than any other conceivable approach.

(ii) It would spread literacy without creating a large group of unemployable and therefore discontented primary graduates.

(iii) It would remind Peruvians that the Junta genuinely intends a revolutionary transformation of the nation, and would be a powerful unifying force throughout the nation.

(iv) It would act as a powerful catalyst to unite sectors of national society, and increase a sense of national consciousness.

This effect was claimed for the Cuban campaign:

> "Our campaign ... has put the youth of Cuba in direct contact, on a daily and prolonged basis, with the peasants and mountain folk, the poorest and most isolated people on the island. Thus, almost 100,000 scholars and students, aided by more than 170,000 adult volunteers, produced a very real growth of national fusion. This extensive experience in communal life cannot but greatly increase understanding among the classes and strata of the population."
>
> (Escuela y Revolución en Cuba No. I, Feb./March 1963.)

A main obstacle to progress in Peru is the insular and class- and culture-bound character of the middle class sector. This is specially true of educators. Possibly, a literacy campaign would be as important for its effect on such attitutdes as for any advance in literacy it might promote.

Since such programmes carry such obvious advantages, and since the Junta is obviously familiar with events in Cuba, we may wonder why the military have not shown interest in such a campaign.

The answer is not hard to find. The central object of Junta policy is to modernize and industrialize the nation. As we have seen, such aims affect urban areas primarily, and imply continuing dependence upon foreign capital. In taking steps which would increase communication and understanding between the various segments of Peruvian society, the Junta might inadvertently unleash forces it could not afterwards control. Prolonged contact with middle class youth might ignite the fuse of discontent on a *sierra*-wide basis. The fragmentation of *campesino* communities which is dictated by Andean geography acts to keep movements of social protest at a local and isolated level. A nation-wide campaign might create among *campesinos* a consciousness of themselves as members of a generally disadvantaged class, and this the Junta undoubtedly wishes to avoid.

Also, such a campaign might give carte blanche to the radical elements among the urban intelligentsia who wish to foment such a

consciousness: what began as a literacy campaign might end as a revolution.

Such issues raise questions as to the nature of the national revolution. In fact, the viability of a literacy campaign of such dimensions may itself be a criterion of whether a non-Castroist national revolution from above is at all feasible. Leftist commentators have argued that it is not, and that the most that may be expected of Velasco's government are mild reforms which do not affect the status quo.

However, it could be argued that such a campaign, if undertaken, might well leave the Junta immeasurably stronger than before. If it were able to arm the conservative elements among the population in support of such a measure, and create a mass movement of the silent majority in support of the national good, a euphoric atmosphere might be created in which radical groups found themselves swept along in the tide.

Here one may only speculate on the alternative possibilities and upon the attitudes of those who control the decision-making apparatus.

Before leaving this sector, we may make some remarks about the use of mass media.

Until the present, Peru has not been affected at a national level by forms of mass media to the same extent as the more developed nations. In the Sierra, daily broadcasts are transmitted in Quechua by communist sources. Also, North American evangelical groups make ample use of the opportunities offered by such organs. Transistor radios are purchased cheaply in the sierra, and the wide diffusion of these has been a significant acculturative influence.

Several points may be raised with regard to this. Firstly, the dissemination of revolutionary propaganda from Cuba and Russia, in Quechua, is instrumental in assisting the growth of group-consciousness among campesinos. Peru is not a democracy, and freedom of speech in these terms may well be a luxury the Junta cannot afford to permit. Secondly, the programmes broadcast by evangelical agencies may also be seditious in terms of the national good. The latent effect of such

programmes may be to promote among campesinos such North American values as equalitarianism, effort-optimism, and belief in the efficiency of 'progress.' Whatever the merits of such value-orientations, they may be potentially explosive in this context, and the Junta should both be aware of such effects, and aware of the implications for its own programmes.

Rural education in the traditional sense is much more costly than urban education, and undoubtedly less effective. Television- and radio- programming has a vital role to play in the educational process as recommended earlier in this section.

Earlier, we proposed nuclear centres staffed by technical experts, from which information could be relayed to campesino communities by resource personnel trained in the skills necessary to such peculiar types of communication. Here, wise use of technology might well be cheaper and more efficient than over-dependence upon scarce and expensively-trained manpower. Programmed videotape and radio instruction, and promotion of government policies by propaganda would be a valuable role for the technical 'nuclear' staff. Presentation and follow-up of such media programming 'on the spot' might be a role for the resource personnel.

The National Planning Institute appears to be thinking somewhat along these lines already. This may be seen in the following suggestions:

> "... educational strategy shall be geared to the maximization of financial resources, in response to the nation-wide effort now being made. At present the system is utilizing the most costly form of resource, the teacher, without using him in the fullest, most efficient sense. Some recently adopted forms of rationalization indicate a relative advance: however, the main task in education will be the search for new educational technologies, which together with the forces of rationalization, will maximize financial resources and give a better return to the teaching body ...
>
> Groups of teachers and students could be involved in educational and community tasks, and their contributions stimulated by financial benefits .... A requisite of graduation should be a period of participation in such tasks in rural and sub-urban areas ...
>
> A net of centres should be established at local levels to serve educational establishments and the community. These centres would include libraries, museums, laboratories, and

> other facilities. This policy would be complemented by the organization of specialized groups charged with the permanent improvement of teaching in specific areas, especially the sciences, technology and language instruction. The system of school nuclei which, organized with a pilot school and a net of smaller schools, should be used more extensively to provide better educational services, and link more effectively with the community."
>
> (Sistema Nacional de Planeficacion: Sector Educación:1970)

It is clear that these are desirable directions for education with regard to the campesino. It is possible, however, to see in the language of the Peruvian bureaucracy a latent tendency to define, and perhaps implement, such measures without taking sufficient cognizance of the way of life of those who are to be 'benefitted', and it is this tendency which may lead to the most difficulty.

(ii) The Rural Marginal

In earlier discussion of this model type, it was argued that members of this group are typically illiterate, unskilled, casually employed, and alienated, since they no longer belong to the *Campesino* culture, and have not become absorbed into the urban scene. Thus, this type has a markedly transitional character, which complicates attempts to adapt formal education to its needs.

While schooling does exist, the illiteracy and rootlessness of members of this type, and their deep suspicion of urban *mestizos* occupying institutional roles, means that the children attend school sporadically, if at all, and take paid work at an early age, if they can find it.

The following suggestions are made with these problems in mind:

(i)..The *Nucleos Escolares* previously referred to, could organize programmes with adult and child members of this group in mind. Adult programmes could provide vocational training adapted to the kinds of job opportunities likely to occur in rural towns as the agrarian reforms develop. Literacy programmes could be included in this education. What is needed is a kind of education which will fit the adult for a working role in this particular society in the future, and thus give him a motive for remaining where he is. Merely to upgrade his schooling and make him literate by giving a normal primary education would be dysfunctional, since he would then tend to continue his migration to the larger urban community, and join the already vast ranks of the jobless marginal.

"It is common for the graduates of vocational institutions to seek jobs which are unrelated to their technical training. Those trained as craftsmen, for example, will often enter clerical employment, or seek supervisory employment on the grounds that they

are educated men. Indeed, a large number of the students enroll in vocational schools because places are not available in the better general schools."

(Harbison and Myers:1964:82)

A characteristic of this type is his split cultural identity. Often, the man dresses as a mestizo and speaks Spanish, while the wife remains at home, and dresses, cooks and speaks as an Indian campesina. One of the roles of the Nucleos Escolares could be to provide on-the-spot assistance and instruction in hygiene, dietetics, consumer practices, and so on.

Since formal education for the child members of this type seems to be dysfunctional in most respects, thought could be given to child centres which, in addition to providing for a smoother transition into mainstream primary education by socializing pupils into a mestizo time-sense, for example, and juvenile group-membership, would also provide a focal centre where children could spend their time. At present such children roam the streets at random, and their parents are unable in the new circumstances to carry out many of the socializing tasks which in the ayllu are latent functions of the community in general.

In summation, the needs for this type are:

(i) ... Training which will relate to future job-opportunities, and discourage mobility.

(ii)... Training in the home for women and girls, to assist them in learning their roles as mothers and wives in nuclear families, for which life in the communal ayllu has not prepared them.

(iii)..Centres which will provide for a transitional enculturation for the young, preparing them for entry into the school system. Such centres will also provide guidance and facilities

which such children need, and lack at present. Such centres would also have a baby-sitting function, freeing mothers for education and training beyond the home.

The above suggestions are all dependent on the availability of work for members of this type. Without this, they will tend to move on. Even if they stay, they will naturally tend to regard official efforts to help them as pious hypocrisies.

Thus government agencies concerned with administration of urban communities and the agrarian reforms have a role to play, in several respects. They can act as links betwen employers and members of this type, and thus help to break down the inevitable conflicts and mutual incomprehensions which must arise when peasants grapple with the role-expectations of the urban labourer. They could provide part-time employment of an on-going kind which will enable the rural urban marginal to proceed with his education, or arrange with non-government employers for such study time to be made a condition of work. They can also be effectively instrumental in interpreting the rural urban marginal's socio-cultural predicament to the forces of law and order, for whom poverty is often a crime in itself.

(iii) The Rural Proletariat

The hierarchical character of the enclave society, and the rationalized settlement patterns of such communities, have previously been discussed. Typically, such communities provide educational opportunities above the average. Teachers are often paid salaries above the national average, and especially in American-operated enclaves, facilities are excellent. The rationalized stratification of the society, however, tends to carry over into the schools, so that the obrero's children have a status as low as their parents. In the enclave with which I am familiar, the quality of facilities undoubtedly differed according to the social position of the educated. The executive Peruvian and American staff and the administrative echelon sent their children to different schools a few hundred yards apart. The labourer class had another school again. The 'crack' teachers were sent to work in the best schools. I was often consulted on staffing, and it was usual for the 'executive' school to be given priority in this area.

Conditions applying in urban education also apply in the enclaves. Ministry regulations do not differ. Teachers emerge from the same training system, and share the attitudes of their colleagues elsewhere. Improved facilities and the peculiar nature of the enclave community are the only altered variables.

A remarkable opportunity appears to be missed under these circumstances. Because of the altered variables referred to above, which are reflected in teacher-student ratios lower than anywhere in the nation outside the private schools, an opportunity for effective education exists. This chance is missed, for several reasons.

Stratified schooling according to social class has some advantages. It assures personnel of middle- and lower-middle class status a free education for their children, while sparing them the expense involved in private schooling, and is an important fringe benefit.

However, such a system obviously exercises closure on the obrero group. This is contrary to the declared aims of the Junta, and it seems possible that the government could introduce legislation to correct

this to some degree. It seems unlikely that the executive class would surrender their educational privileges: United States personnel would not be attracted to enclaves in which the schooling facilities were not competitive with North American school systems.

The Junta has already given some thought to establishing comprehensive, multi-lateral schools, and the enclaves offer a convenient set of circumstances for pilot projects. Non-executive personnel might at least have their children educated within the walls of one school, which could provide academic, technical,commercial and alphabetization programmes.

Programmes of this sort could not be operated under existing ministry regulations, but these could be suspended. Such projects could be placed under the direction of trained educational administrators, and freed from restricting examination and age-grade requirements.

United States Corporations operating enclaves are at present required to undertake certain concessionary obligations, such as selling part of their product to the Peruvian government at reduced prices. The cost of improved educational facilities would be a bagatelle compared to the enormous profits made by such companies. The government might thus give thought to obliging such companies to provide greater facilities than are given at present. Here I refer not only to buildings and plant, but to library and visual aid equipment, and to personnel. Teachers brought to Peru to work in the American company schools could be given more intensive crash courses in Spanish than is the case at present, and these could be supplemented by culture-oriented courses dealing with Peru and with Peruvian education. These could be made conditions of employment by the government. Such teachers could then be obliged to spend a specified part of their working week in the Peruvian schools, interacting with Peruvian teachers and exposing these to attitudes and techniques to which they are not at present accustomed. Thought might be given to directing Peace Corps and CUSO volunteers, and teacher volunteers on Summer vacation from North America, to such work, for which they might be better suited than the roles to

which they are often directed.

Technical, vocational and academic centres of further education might even be set up in some enclaves. United States companies might also be expected to share in establishing and financing these, which could act as junior colleges, removing some of the strain from Lima and the larger provincial universities. Schools of engineering could be operated conveniently, since the large concentration of United States, Canadian and European engineers usually present in enclaves represent a 'to hand' resource. Each enclave has a well-equipped hospital, and these too could be used as training centres for further education in medicine and nursing.

This section is concerned with the rural proletarian, and it is clear that the above suggestions hold little for him. The existence of well-equipped and staffed comprehensive schools in which the children of the obrero class could be educated alongside children of other social strata offers many advantages. It is true, however, that the social functions of such education might not be entirely favourable: the social disadvantages of the obrero position might in fact be emphasized under such conditions. In this respect, government legislation might be enacted to at least ensure a per-capita educational investment for obrero children comparable to that for other children. This would be a remarkable social advance.

Such investment need not be entirely, or even predominantly, directed to formal schooling. It could extend to the entire family unit, and be devoted to the kinds of re-education already suggested for rural urban marginal families.

The rural proletarian tends to be mobile: only partially enculturated in such concepts as postponed gratification and effort-optimism, he tends to make use of the enclave as a means of acquiring a nest-egg with which to return to his cultural home, the sierra, after a few months. Research might show that this tendency is exacerbated by the lowly position he occupies in the enclave hierarchy. Thus educational investment aimed at ameliorating his lot, and helping him to perceive such advantages once they were created, would serve

at least two purposes. By giving him extra incentives to remain in the company's employ, it would facilitate upward mobility and more complete internalization of the values of industrial society. This in turn would improve his efficiency in company terms, so that not only the obrero and his family, but the company and the entire society would benefit from such investment.

To achieve such goals, two things are necessary: direction of adequate investment and planning resources to the problem, and improvement schemes based on a cultural understanding of the obrero's situation, and the social variables which would need to be manipulated by educational and other measures in order to achieve the desired goals. At present, neither of these conditions is met. I feel from my own experiences in an enclave that the obrero, for all the ways in which his lot is better than that of other labourers in Peru, is basically regarded as a cheap resource, whose apparent cultural obtuseness leads company planners to despair of ever motivating him. This situation exists because the obrero is often only partly enculturated in company work and life-styles, but also because the management personnel in such companies come to their roles with little cultural insight into the weltanschaung of the Peruvian obrero.

(iv) The Urban Marginal

In earlier discussion, this model type was defined as a *sierra* migrant, autonomously organized into communities in which the nuclear family was the typical unit; a climate of co-operation and struggle for improvement, in which crime and violence were minimally present, was suggested. The urban marginal, in the view of Mangin and others, perceives his existence to be beset by threatening forces, and this reflects partly the facts of his social situation and partly the elements of animistic belief which are residues from his prior *sierra* existence.

At present, few educational facilities exist for the people of the *barriadas*. While much attention is focused on the urban marginal by government, religious and other agencies, it would appear that, as Dietz reported, (1967) improvement in such areas is brought about largely by the initiative of the squatters themselves, either individually or collectively. Housing, water supply, services, and educational upgrading in institutions beyond the *barriada* community, would all be examples of such improvements.

It is hard to discuss useful roles for education in the *barriadas*, for several reasons.

(i) The people in these areas have become used to helping and organizing themselves. They regard officers of government and other agencies as outsiders at best; this is in part the predictable suspicion of the peasant, exacerbated by the culture shock of the metropolis and the new, strange surroundings of the *barriada* itself. It is also to be traced to the inept and confused efforts of government agencies to cope with this social problem.

The existence of such factors leads one to suppose that even if teachers and school facilities were made available, little would be achieved, because of the blocks of mutual incomprehension which would in all probability be thrown up.

(ii) The immediate need for the urban marginal is work: he badly needs the security that a guaranteed wage will give, in order to continue with such other vital tasks as building his home and continuing to improve it, participating in community affairs, and proceeding with his education. At present he lacks this security, and it would therefore be pointless to indulge in educational planning without first seeking an answer to this problem.

(iii) Information on the barriada situation is at present neither comprehensive nor consistent in its findings. Research is needed to discover, among other things, whether there is a barriada character, or whether each neighbourhood is in fundamental ways different from the next. Dietz, for example, characterizes barriada dwellers as young, upward-mobile, law-abiding, community-minded nuclear families, on the basis of research in a limited situation, we need to know whether this is a model type, or one of several barriada model types.

Having made these points, I will now propose a role for education in the barriadas, based upon the following assumptions:

(i) ... There is no overall solution to barriada poverty and unemployment, but it may be possible to plan long-term projects which will have useful effects, and be a more valuable approach than the stop-gap measures which have usually obtained.

(ii)... The Peruvian government has financial and other resources to apply in this case. Since these are necessarily limited, the question of establishing ground rules for the allocation of such resources is crucial.

(iii).. Many barriada dwellers are highly-motivated to improve all aspects of their situation, but lack work and education, which are the keys to such improvement.

(iv)... As the economy continues to develop in the tertiary sector in urban areas, new kinds of work will emerge, and these will require personnel with new kinds of skills. Already it is clear that in sub-professional and technical areas, the present system fails to provide adequate training facilities.

(v)... In many countries, including Peru, ten to twelve years of formal schooling are deemed necessary before students can even commence the studies which will allow them to assume sub-professional and technical roles. Such an assumption has no firm basis in scientific, learning, or any other theory. Formal schooling need not be treated as a sacred cow. A partially-developed country must be prepared to provide programmes which will produce certain kinds of personnel in far shorter periods than is the case in advanced countries, where business and other interests often control education socially, raising the school age in order to regulate the unemployment rate.

I wish now to suggest that the government establish a new kind of education facility in Lima which I will call Academies for the people. (Academias del Pueblo.) This would be housed in large buildings or complexes, and there could be several such facilities, strategically placed to accommodate the main barriadas.

Such facilities would offer a programme in which elements of literacy training and primary studies were combined with vocational, including professional, preparation in a number of areas.

The vocational schemes would be conceived in relation to industrial and societal needs over the next ten- or fifteen-year period. Manpower needs have been forecast for this period, (Cornhels:1969) and by using these and research findings in other areas of industry and technology, it should be possible to isolate those working roles for which little or no training at present exists, or for which the present and predicted supply of skilled labour is inadequate. Having done this,

it would then be feasible to list such job-skills in order of priority, and devise courses of instruction and criteria of certification for them.

The government could arrange free transport facilities by which people living in the barriadas could be brought to class, and taken home. In addition, study grants could be provided. These would be minimal at the lower levels, but would increase, as students advanced in their studies. By the time students had reached an academic level where in terms of learning skills they were able to function adequately in sub-professional and technical studies, they should be subsidized with what would amount to the equivalent of a living wage for a barriada labourer.

The scheme of studies, then, would proceed from a basic literacy training level, through increasing stages of difficulty, to something approaching junior college standards. The following elements would be included in such a scheme:

> (i)... Courses would be of brief duration, especially at first. It has been found that language schools and evening institutes in Lima have had more success with many short courses than with a few long ones. The Instituto Peruano-Británico, for example, revised its programmes because of this, and the very successful Instituto Norte-Americano has offered many, brief courses for some years.
>
> (ii) ... Such a programme should be utterly divorced from normal primary programmes, even those for adults. The learning of verbal and arithmetical skills would be linked as closely as possible to vocational areas. Social studies would be concerned with the barriada dweller's perceptions of his own world, that from which he has come, and that to which he aspires. Such courses would attempt to deal with situational difficulties, rather than provide information in terms of, for example, historical and geographic fact. Observation of, and controlled experience in, communication skills across national sub-cultures, and sensitivity training aimed at helping the barriada

adult to relate confidently to his world, as well as deal, perhaps, with his apparent tendency to depression, are all possibilities. For women, the kinds of living-skills proposed for the Rural Marginal and Proletarian types is proposed: undoubtedly, the kinds of initiatives which Dietz and others report in the barriadas would be able to organize baby-sitting programmes so that wives and mothers could also be involved in such educative experiences.

(iii)... Certification would generally follow the principle that any sustained effort would be rewarded. Thus students who became discouraged, or who failed to cope with their studies at an early stage, would leave with a certificate to indicate how far they had proceeded. As the student proceeded higher in terms of difficulty, and came nearer to a genuinely vocational training, the kind of certification he would receive might bear closer relation to those awarded by other educational institutions within the society. At the highest level, certificates equivalent to one or two years of university would be awarded, and these would identify the recipient as a skilled worker, technician, or sub-professionally qualified person.

(iv)... Students could proceed at any rate, provided that they satisfied the criteria for each level. In many cases, arrangements could be made for in-training sessions in industry, hospitals, etc., and such sessions could be given credit on vocational programmes.

(v)... The criterion for each level of achievement should be for the most part assessed in terms of skills and understanding, rather than in terms of recall of fact.

Having made these suggestions, I should now offer some justification for such a scheme.

It should be made clear that such a scheme would not magically create wide employment where little exists. Moreover, it is not conceived as a grandiose baby-sitting scheme for adults. It might,though, serve the following purposes:

(i) It has been pointed out that the barriada dweller not only feels ignored by those beyond his group, but he has learned to see outsiders as potential threats. The scheme I propose might be effective in reducing this source of tension and potential conflict.

(ii) The depressed attitudes which recur so often in discussion of this type, and which I would endorse from personal observations, are in part a heritage of four hundred years of oppression and brutal treatment: in a shorter perspective, they seem in the case of the barriada people to be responses to an ambiguous and often hostile environment, but also to a sense of despair about the future. The escalator to a more secure life is slowly and laboriously travelled by some: how many, we need to find out. Many, perhaps most, do not manage this transition, and this is a source of their despair and depression.

Even if the institutions I recommend did little directly for the majority of people in the barriadas, they would have great symbolic value for the entire group. Not only would they feel that the revolution was for them too, but they would be able to see in such institutions a tangible means of improving, and perhaps rising above, their predicament. The cure for poverty is jobs: the cure for the despair born of poverty is hope.

(iii) Such a scheme offers hopes with some prospect of realization. It is, after all, commonly agreed that the normal vocational schools serve little useful purpose. The middle classes

reject such opportunities, and the graduates of such schools use them as escalators to academic work, rather than as training in blue-collar roles.

Such roles will not increase greatly in the case of Peru, which has reached a stage of development when a large, unskilled urban labour force is being replaced by one smaller and more skilled. There will be demand in the future, however, for workers with the right skills. Training for such roles should be implemented with the barriadas in mind, in view of the vital side-functions which such training could be made to serve.

I have argued earlier that the barriada dweller needs work rather than education. To suggest ways in which the government could meet that need more efficiently is beyond the present scope. The scheme I have proposed might have two effects in this regard: it would, by rewarding perseverance with increasing bursary amount, provide some of the goals offered by work: as the student progressed, and his income grew, his position would gradually improve in relation to that of the employed labourer, who has little hope of improvement, and no more guarantee that he will remain employed than there is guarantee of academic success for the student. It would also provide goals not offered by most work: it would replace the despair of the unemployed and the apathy or resignation of the partially or sporadically employed with hope, or what has elsewhere been referred to as effort-optimism. (DuBois:1955)

The main obstacle to such a scheme would be found in the way it was perceived by the people of the barriadas. Government ministries might compartmentalize work and education as separate activities, but the barriada dweller would naturally tend to see money spent on education as money which 'They', the world beyond the barriada, might instead have invested in food, wages for government work schemes, or welfare subsidies: he might therefore regard such a scheme with resentment. Because of this danger, I would suggest that such educational planning

be considered by the government as one element in an overall approach to development, and that thought be given to interpreting government policies to the people of the barriadas in ways they could readily comprehend.

I said earlier that interaction between teachers and barriada people would pose problems of a cultural nature. This would be true when the teachers came to the barriadas. However, the existence of focal centres outside the barriadas, to which students were transported, would create a quite different situation. Those who travelled to such facilities would be taking a deliberate initiative, and might be expected to be less distrustful of the teacher. Implicit in this matter is the need to selectively recruit and train teachers who would approach their task with the understandings and communicative skills demanded by the situation.

(v) The Urban Proletariat

We have seen that this type is a small minority, privileged in security of job tenure, and social legislation with regard to working conditions. Culturally, it has been described as manifesting a conservative, proletarian form of *Criollismo*, coloured by a close residential proximity to the transitional and in many respect sordid elements of inner-city life in the metropolis.

The stability and relative prosperity of this group probably mean that children of blue-collar workers progress further with secondary and further education than other elements of society outside the middle and upper-classes, but that such progress is often through the vocational and technical institutions, rather than the academic route followed by the middle-class child. These are informed guesses which obviously need support from empirical research.

In more advanced nations, the white-collar attitudes and greater degree of literacy found commonly in middle-class homes act as cultural forces directing the middle-class child towards the kinds of careers and life-styles enjoyed by adults of his class. Working-class children who follow such middle-class escalators often do so in spite of, rather than because of, the cultural circumstances of their childhood. Gans, for instance, has pointed out (Gans:1962) that the working-class family in North America is typically extended, and sees mainstream society as external to itself in most respects: as 'Them', whereas the middle-class family sees itself as society. These differing attitudes and expectations are expressed in, and confirmed by, the education system in many countries.

In Britain, for example, the middle-class child went to grammar school, and the working-class child without a scholarship to elementary school, before the introduction of new legislation in 1944.

Recently, Peruvian education planners have become attracted by the idea of comprehensive schooling. The idea of reducing, and perhaps abolishing, the elite private schools, and setting up comprehensive schools with academic, vocational, scientific, technical and remedial streams is seen as a rational way to provide for an

educating process more closely geared to developmental themes for Peru.

I would advocate this here, and add that the reforms earlier suggested for middle-class schooling, i.e., adoption of a system similar to the British General Certificate of Education, would harmonize well with such a measure as the implementation of comprehensive schooling.

The advantages in terms of manpower training and development seem clear enough not to need further discussion. I would like to suggest what the cultural effects of such reforms might be.

(i) Children of the 'Urban Proletariat' would be given vastly improved life-chances by such schooling. Other factors being equal, the working-class child in Britain, for example, is at a disadvantage compared to the middle-class child when both study side by side in an academic stream, because of the family attitudes in which each have been socialized. However, this is preferable to the existing situation, in which working-class children study in larger classes, with poorer facilities, and with less-well qualified teachers than in the private schools.

(ii) Comprehensive schools provide choices, and if in Peru children from various social strata were able to make and work out such choices in large institutionalized groups, the resultant heterogeneity would itself be a form of socialization from which all would benefit.

(iii) In the larger school unit which is usually found in comprehensive schools, it is feasible to supply facilities for differing streams more cheaply and efficiently than in smaller schools. In private schools in Peru, for example, the science facilities are usually poor, and for this reason science teaching is under-developed. The same could be said of technical, vocational, and certain kinds of professional training.

In comprehensive schools, it is even conceivable that non- or semi-academic training could be provided which would turn out qualified manpower in such areas without any need for the student to proceed to the university.

The middle class and the urban proletariat would not, obviously, be the only groups to benefit from such an innovation, but it is likely that the urban proletarian group would profit more than other groups. Such children would be involved with different value-systems, and it seems likely that they would receive the encouragement and support from home which are so important in success at school. Certainly, it would be hoped that the existing tendency to use vocational training as an indirect route to re-entry of the already crowded academic stream would be reduced by such a reform, and this in turn, might cause middle-class students to revise their class bound assumptions concerning technical, scientific, and other non-humanistic forms of study.

EDUCATIONAL NEEDS: THE MIDDLE CLASS

PRIMARY EDUCATION

We may begin by considering how the middle classes are served by the educational system at present. The national population between the ages of 5 and 14 is estimated at 3,738,900 for 1970. Of this number, 2,883,200 are expected to have enrolled in primary schools. 346,200 will have been enrolled in private day schools. Since these schools are the prerogative of the middle and upper classes, and the oligarquia is a statistically insignificant group, we may take this figure to be a reasonable estimate of the number of middle class children in primary school. (Ministry of Education).

At this level of society the drop-out rate is negligible. Thus the following breakdown according to years indicates the degree of middle class growth.

i- 87,100.
ii-67,400.
iii-58,100.
iv- 51,100.
v- 43,100.
vi- 39,400 *

Many of the private schools are run by Catholic Orders. In addition, there are American, German, Swiss and British schools.

The conditions generally obtaining in primary schools have been described elsewhere. Here it may be said that the teacher-student ratio will be much lower than in state schools, and the level of teacher preparation somewhat higher. The influence of the church will in many cases be more strongly felt.

---

* The above statistics are taken from various publications of the Ministerío de Educacion, División Estadística, 1970.

PROBLEMS AT THE PRIMARY LEVEL

The most obvious characteristic of middle-class primary school is that they are private. Thus the child from his first school years sees himself as a member of a privileged group with élitist and caste connotations. A great deal of this is further stressed in the expectations the teacher has of the student. It seems unlikely that any governmental action to modify this situation would be forthcoming in the immediate future.

The formalistic nature of teaching at this level is likely to continue. Many of the teachers have a strong Catholic orientation, and the perennialist view of educational aims which this implies. By perennialism I mean a view of education in which

> "the prime object is to know what is good for man. It is to know the goods in their order. There is a hierarchy of values. The task of education is to help us understand it, establish it, and live by it."
>
> (R. Hutchins:1953:71)

Whatever the philosophic merits of such a view, it seems to be disadvantageous in these circumstances. The middle class is a privileged group in a partially-developed society undergoing rapid change. Such an education has important social implications. It socializes the young in the attitude that their membership of a privileged group is a part of the natural order. It contains the implication that extreme inequality is a way of life, rather than an effect of historical events.

The stress in such a system is on individual rather than societal factors. Gouvéia has shown how in Brazil women teachers lack interest in political and economic interpretations of society. In the view of such people, success in this life and the next results from conformity to the norms of the church and one's class.(Gouvéia:1967)

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

With the above and previous assessments in mind, I would propose the following measures as means by which the quality of education might be improved.

(i) All primary teachers should receive a strong background in the foundations of education, with a view to persuading them to revise their class-bound assumptions. If such teachers were led to consider other techniques of teaching and socialization processes, they might tend towards a more open approach.

This suggestion, however, might have little effect on deeply ingrained habits and attitudes. The influence of teacher-training institutions must be accounted as minimal compared with the two decades of enculturation which precede it, and with the regression of old values and habits which takes place when the student has finished training and takes up his work as a teacher.

In view of this, it seems desirable that teacher colleges should be residential, and that teacher-training should be regarded as a total experience, rather than a stage in which the student acquires particular skills. With this in mind, I will recommend that,

(a) Such institutions be made residential, and that in addition to the staff which supply essential services, trained personnel be made available, whose work-objective should be to create an environment in which teacher-students would be re-enculturated.

(b) Specifically, such personnel should be familiar with other ways of life and world-views. They should have travelled, and should be capable of interpreting their role in ways that would transcend class- and culture-parameters. They should also have some specific training in such social science areas as social psychology and anthropology.

(c) Such personnel would be trained to interpret their role in a guidance-oriented light: they would not be expected to direct overtly, or 'preach', but work unobtrusively to establish a living environment in which existing norms, values and attitudes were regarded as relative alternatives, rather than blindly-accepted and pre-ordained. Much of this re-enculturation process would be implicit.

Students could learn through participation in decision-making in matters affecting their daily existence, that co-operation and involvement are alternatives to hierarchical prescription. Movies, videotaped television, and live panel discussions and stage entertainments could be used to press home the point that education is a directive process common to all societies, and that each society tackles this problem in different ways. Experienced teachers could be 'brought in' for panel discussions and informal seminars to discuss and justify their approaches. Students could be selected on a pan-national basis, so that various sub-cultures and regional groupings were represented. Teachers and students could be from North America and Europe, and could be invited to live at the colleges during their summer vacations. Representatives from the Ministerio de Educación and other government departments could be brought in to present their views to groups of students. Students could be stimulated to undertake extra-curricular activities in the barriadas and callejones, under direction.

Such programmes would be educative in a sense that formal preparation for the teaching role cannot.

(ii) Much of the formalism observable in primary schools could be reduced if the examination system were revised. All examinations until the age of eleven could be held internally, by the teacher alone. Thus the teacher would not see the exam process as a test of herself. The external examination given at the end of primary schooling need not be a test of the ability to recall facts divorced from meaning. It could be a test of general ability and skills, along the lines of the Iowa test of basic skills given to United States children. Also, such testing could be supplemented with studies of aptitude and intelligence. The effect of such testing would be to remove sources of unnecessary strain, and to direct the child effectively rather than to confront him with a largely meaningless ordeal.

(iii) The major social function of such an education is to reinforce class norms and values. Cultural lag is observable here: the traditional attitudes of the middle class are altering at the adult level. This is due to the increasing emphasis on North American orientations in business life, the acculturating effects of movies, consumer patterns, etc., and the growth of the middle class, which is expanding to include many non-traditional elements. The private schools should seek to relate what is taught to the world in which the child will live. The idea that the middle classes are an element in society, and that there are other emergent elements which need to be understood,should find a place in such education. This could be promoted by visits to non-middle class areas, by involvement with _barriada_ programmes, and by extended trips to the _sierra_ and the jungle. When I taught in a Lima private school, I took twenty students to the jungle for two weeks. We met primitive Indians, hunted crocodiles, took plane flights to Indian villages, and carried out various kinds of initiative training. For most of the children it was a unique experience. Such activities act to open young minds, and the main criticism to be made of primary education in middle class schools,

in my view, is that it stifles curiosity and creativity.

(iv) To pursue this point further, creative methods should be emphasized in teacher training. The intelligent use of visual aids and arts supplies in the normal curriculum should be taught to teacher-students. Such methods are after all in keeping with the progressivist aims of primary education as defined by the Ministerio.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

The total population at ages 15 to 19 is estimated for 1970 at 1,422,100. Of these, 582,400 will be enrolled in secondary schools. 80,000 will be enrolled in secondary day schools operated privately. These will all be academic rather than technical. Of 582,400 enrolled in all schools, 58,200 will enroll in grade five, the last year of schooling. 12,800 will enrol in private schools at grade five.

These figures are taken from recent statistics obtained from the Ministerio de Educación. They contain surprising implications. If the figures are to be believed, one in ten of the total enrollment is involved at grade five, whereas the figure for private schools is one in seven approximately. This would seem to indicate that secondary schooling is not dominated by private institutions, since the public system produces four times as many students at the highest level, with a comparable ratio to the private sector.

It may however, be remembered (Chapter V), that one fifth of all secondary graduates emerge from the private schools.

At the secondary academic level, students are required to take a large number of courses, and to survive external examinations yearly.

If the total number of students enrolled in private secondary schools is compared to the national population of secondary age, the former are seen to be five and one half per cent of that group.

Most estimates of the middle class would place the percentage far higher. While pointing to what seem to be anomalies, I make no further comment on the inferences drawn from extrapolation of the statistics.

Middle-class children tend to ignore opportunities in technical institutes, and take the secondary academic route. Such education stresses literature and history and geography heavily. Science-teaching facilities are minimal.

The continuing formalism and traditionalism of teachers at this level has already been discussed.

PROBLEMS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

(i) The program provided at such schools is narrowly limited to preparation for university entrance. This means that a change is necessary at university level before innovation can take place at secondary level. However, many students do not proceed to university, so that present forms of secondary education are a poor preparation for those who will enter employment directly.

(ii) Harbison and Myers argue that schools in partially-developed countries teach curricula which are generally deficient in mathematics, science, and even the elements of national culture. This needs some qualification in the Peruvian case.

The poor facilities available for science teaching have been discussed. The math which is taught is similar to that taught in North America before the introduction of new Math. My impression was that this area of secondary programmes was adequate in terms of teaching preparation and lesson content. I have concluded that Math is liable to suffer less than other subjects in less-developed countries, since it is independent of cultural factors to a greater extent than other subject-areas. The secondary Math teachers I have known seemed able

to work adequately at this level. Thus, while assuming that Harbison and Myers have good reason for their comments, I feel that in the Peruvian case there is room for doubt.

In one sense, Peruvian secondary education spends an inordinate amount of time on Peruvian culture. Two full courses are devoted entirely to such content. However, such courses stress factual recall rather than understanding of processes, and they are undoubtedly limited in that they present a largely middle-class-bound view of Peru.

SUGGESTED REFORMS

At the middle-class level, I would argue for three reforms.

(i) All courses should not be oriented to university entrance with a view to subsequent work in the Arts and Humanities. I would suggest a three year general course, with as much emphasis as possible on scientific and technological areas, followed by a rigourous external exam. Success in this could lead to two further years of specialized study in a cluster of three or four subjects, which would be related to further work at the university level. Failure at the end of the third year would lead to a more general course for the remaining two years, with the possibility of re-assessment.
Such a programme is used in Britain. Whatever its defects, it does supply undergraduates who have proved themselves in concentrated study at some depth. It may be argued that such an approach suffers from two shortcomings: it smacks of élitism, and it does not give students a broad grounding but obliges them to specialize too early in their career.

In the Peruvian case, we are presented with a middle- and upper-class privately educated élite, and may as well accept this. Democratic assumptions do not necessarily obtain. The main objective, surely, is to ensure that if an élite is to exist, it should be an educated one. At present, privilege ensures that middle-class children complete their education, almost regardless of ability. The reforms I am advocating would stress ability rather than ascriptive status as a determinant of university entrance from this sector.

Such an approach does force students to specialize early. However, the specialization is relative. Choosing a cluster of science-oriented subjects does not force the student to become a biologist or a physicist, but a scientist of some sort. It may also be pointed out that a principle of early choice operates at present in any case. Most students choose law, medicine or engineering, or the humanities, as escalators to the appropriate forms of adult middle-class endeavour. The program I advocate would merely introduce ability as a much needed factor. In short, the best way to modify an ascriptively-oriented process is by introducing criteria of achievement.

(iii) The virility- and virginity-complexes referred to in the section on the middle class may be reconsidered. In the approach taken in this thesis, the prosperity of the middle classes is seen to be founded on the disadvantaged state of most other sectors. Virility is more than sexual: the Peruvian middle class male is enculturated to exploit others in many ways. I may point out here that even sexual exploitation of the lower classes forms part of this complex: I have known instances where teachers advised their students to visit the brothels as part of their education. The virtual

slavery which many señoras impose on their domestics is another example of such exploitation.

This implies a positive role for education. While not wishing to over-estimate the potential of education as a force for cultural change, it does seem that the social studies teacher at the secondary level could assist in breaking down some of the class-bound assumptions of the privately-educated Peruvian.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

Recent statistics for this area are not available. It may be said that a small minority of the total population complete further academic education. The majority of such students come from the middle- and upper-classes. Many take their university education abroad. In Lima, there are several universities. San Marcos, which functioned until recently along the 'Bologna' lines previously described, is being forced to rationalize its operations by the Junta. Student political activity is being suppressed. At the same time, other universities are being operated as private enterprises in which achievement rather than political activities are being stressed. Facilities in medicine and engineering are excellent at this level. Finally, provincial universities provide degree programmes, but the proportion of provincial universities is thought to be higher than a nation at the Peruvian stage of development can support at a suitable level.

PROBLEMS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Undoubtedly, the arts and humanities are over-emphasized in Peruvian higher education. Higher education in these areas no longer guarantees a good position to the graduate, and such over-emphasis is not related to the demands of the labour market.

The quality of education is poor, since teachers operate on a part-time basis, with inadequate library and other facilities.

Sub-professional personnel are needed in many occupations. The university does not meet this need, and it represents the only facility by means of which such personnel may be trained.

Finally, the universities in Peru operate individually, at various levels of quality. The process is not rational, and grading should be imposed.

SUGGESTED REFORMS

I have already suggested that the requirements imposed for entrance at universities affect the secondary education system. If such requirements were differentiated, this would enable secondary graduates to enter university with differing qualifications at differing levels. For example, those who had attained a satisfactory level in specialized areas during their last two years of secondary education could be admitted to full university work. Those who had taken the general route, as I have outlined it above, could be directed towards limited courses in which they would achieve the prized university education, but would graduate earlier and more easily, and would join the work-force sooner. A continual process of re-evaluation could be instituted, by which through success at either the highschool or undergraduate stages, a student could be re-incorporated in the ranks of the higher-level undergraduate students.

At the graduate level, studies could be operated on a more rational basis than at present. Even in North America, graduate schools tend to favour those who have the degree of financial security necessary to extend their studies for two or more years. In Peru,

graduate standards are low, and success is even more closely related to factors of income. I have no empirical support for these statements, but I feel that my own observations would be born out by such enquiry.

The level of training provided for engineers is very high for a nation at Peru's level of development. The same is not true for science. Reform is badly needed here: facilities need to be upgraded, and an adequate base laid at the secondary level of education. Some cultural reorientation may also be called for. In the enclave where I was employed, I frequently heard United States engineers complain that their Peruvian equivalents were too 'theoretical': they were not prepared to get themselves dirty and show the technician and labourer what was wanted. This enclave employed a quota of Peruvian engineers, but seemed to employ them in some rather atypical capacities. I do not know enough of the role of the engineer to make specific comments here. However, I do know that the middle-class Peruvian avoids manual work at all costs. He does not, for example, cultivate his garden or tinker with his car, whereas in advanced western cultures such activities are often almost a raison-d'être for acquiring cars and gardens.

TEACHER-TRAINING INSTITUTIONS

Little can be added to previous comment. Teachers in such institutions should seek to bring about three states:

(i) They should provide training in creativity-methods and the use of visual aids, in varying philosophical and cultural orientations, and perhaps in T-group forms of sensitivity training, in order to open up teachers's perspectives and prise them loose from traditional middle-class assumptions.

(ii) Professionalism should be emphasized. At present, many teachers see themselves as lackeys of an inequitable system. They respond either by obsequiously aspiring to the values of higher social strata, or by disgruntled protest which serves little purpose.

(iii) The evolutionary role of the teacher in a partially-developed society should be emphasized. In Cuba, Castro in his addresses to teachers has repeatedly stressed that the teachers are under no hardship. It is the students who have to make sacrifices. While many Peruvian teachers might take a different view of such comments, it nevertheless seems true that the teacher in a nation like Peru is faced with a bracing challenge. If his facilities and working conditions are less than adequate, he must stress his professional solidarity. Training institutions, however, should stress the positive aspects of the teacher's role. Finally, the government can give vital leadership in this respect.

In considering the educational implications for the middle classes, I have concentrated on Lima, which is the reference point for the Peruvian middle classes generally, and is also the centre for higher education and teacher-training. The situation in provincial towns is not so different that it requires separate consideration, in my judgement. I have already pointed to the isolated and possibly dysfunctional character of the provincial universities. I may also refer to the difficulty involved in attracting an adequate supply of recruits to the teaching profession in areas far from the metropolis: this combined with the provincial way of life, exaggerated in the Peruvian case by the great distances from and poor communications with, the capital, leads me to conjecture that teachers in provincial cities and towns may be less sophisticated culturally than their metropolitan colleagues, and more traditionally-oriented. The effects of this on the educational process may easily be imagined.

The enclaves are other centres containing sizeable middle-class elements in their populations. I have included some comments on middle-class educational patterns in enclaves in my treatment of the Rural Proletariat.

THE OLIGARQUIA: EDUCATION

The educational facilities available in Peru to children of the Oligarchy are clearly the same as those for the middle class, which we have already considered. The defects of these facilities are also by implication the same, but it may be said that the Oligarquia are able, by virtue of their privileged position and the degree of social control they are able to exercise, to survive such defects more effectively than the middle class with whom they share them. In fact, another view would be that such defects actually redound to the advantage of the upper classes, and are perpetuated by them.

The examination system, the proliferation of private schools charging fees which are prohibitively high for most Peruvians, and the extreme emphasis is in university curriculae on economically unproductive disciplines, are all examples of education which works for the oligarchy but against the majority of the middle class. I taught in a private school in which corruption was at a minimum: even there, however, the school administration had little choice but to favour children with famous Peruvian names. The existence of the school to some extent depended on it. The bribery and nepotism implicit in external oral examinations cannot be exaggerated: I saw many instances at first hand. The idea of the university as a finishing school for rich young gentlemen has been discussed previously. This is only one of its functions, and may soon pass into history, if the University Law of the Junta is fully implemented.

There can be little doubt that children of the Oligarquia are coming increasingly to receive their higher education in North America and Europe. The National Planning Institute sees this as a 'brain drain', and yet it may be a functional response to Peruvian needs.

In the section defining the Oligarquia as model type, I referred to Cochran's analyses (1960) of Latin American commercial and financial elites. He sees them as responding inadequately to

their managerial role in that they are more concerned with prestige, personalistic arrangements, and standards of personal feeling and worth, than in the generally gesellschaft attitudes and values which Cochran sees as most appropriate to modern business practice.

When I argue that a university education abroad for the scions of the oligarchy may be more functional in terms of national need than the higher education provided by Peruvian universities, I do so with Cochran's remarks in mind. Peruvian commerce, banking and investment is controlled at the national level by the Oligarquia, or as Quijáno has it, the dependent bourgeoisie. Barring unforeseen political developments, this seems likely to continue. It is surely desirable that in this, their main manifest societal function, the Oligarchy should be undergoing increasingly a kind of training which will have a rationalizing effect upon the organization of the nation's means of production, distribution and exchange.

I assume with some confidence that education abroad does have such an effect. In view of the fact that much of this education may be in the humanities and social sciences, rather than the natural sciences and business and management techniques, I may add that the latter kind of studies also have a valuable latent function, in that they must surely act to broaden the cultural perspectives of such students, and prise loose many of their élitist caste and class assumptions.

Peruvian universities, as has been said, appear to be moving towards a more rational model, and the recent presence of business schools such as that of Stanford University, in Lima, may assist the general tendency described above.

The problem presented by the Oligarquia, in terms of national development, is that in acting in its own best economic interests it seldom serves that of other sectors. Having considered how formal processes of education may be instrumental in improving this situation, there is little to be added. The Oligarquia is a small group numerically: its social existence is carefully kept closed from mainstream society.

Its mores and values do provide models for the more affluent sections of the middle class, but in this social function it is being superseded by other, more international models, largely supplied by the mass media. The middle-class señora knows more about Mrs. Onassis than she does about the Peruvian Oligarquia, and her husband, who a generation ago might have aspired to the gracious existence of an hacendado, now seeks a mustang and a split-level residence.

In these patterns of change, the influence of the Oligarquia remains indirectly powerful, controlling much of Peruvian business life, the Oligarquia implicitly controls the media. While this has an undeniable North American orientation, it may be said that advertising and news presentation maintain a local form. These exercises in cultural persuasion derive their success from their capacity to reach the national population in terms of Peruvian cultural expression. Nationalism and Criollismo are potent elements in such persuasion. (Here I include news presentation as a form of persuasion. The newspapers, for example, are largely owned by such oligarchic interests as the powerful Beltrán and Miró Quesada families.)

If we are to consider education in its fullest sense, as a force transmitting and transforming culture, then we must take account of the above factors. Since these are spheres for government intervention concerning which information is here lacking, I will not make suggestions, but restrict myself to asking some pertinent questions.

Early in 1970, the government expropriated two national newspapers 'El Expresso' and 'Extra', apparently because of their outspoken criticisms of the regime. If the government is able, and prepared to undertake such drastic steps, it seems relevant to speculate as to whether it should also act to control advertising, or at least oblige it to conform to prescribed standards of taste. The Junta is dedicated to removing inequalities within the society. Advertising, with its appeals to greed and wasteful, indulgent patterns of consumption, is an acculturating force of little benefit to the society. It is a consistent reminder to the vast majority of Peruvians that they do not share in a privileged sector of economic consumption. It must therefore function to

stimulate both greed and resentment.

Such influences must operate against the educative process. One wonders, therefore, what recommendations are made to the Junta by its educational planners in this respect.

The presentation of national and world news is clearly an area with which educators must be concerned centrally. By definition, the educator must be opposed in principle to censorship, and to slanted and biased presentations of news. At the same time, he must be prepared to see the world as it is, if he is to be effective, and in Peru as it now is, this implies direct governmental action against news media.

In view of this, it is perhaps most useful for the educator to ask the following question: how should the oligarchy-dominated press and other media be controlled in the true interests of the government and the nation? In this respect I would comment that newspaper reportage of world events is vastly inferior to that of leading newspapers in North America and Europe. Also, no national magazines of the type and calibre, of, for example, the 'New Statesman' or 'Atlantic Monthly' exist. 'El Comercio' and 'La Prensa', the leading national newspapers, are more comparable to provincial Canadian dailies. There is a serious need for articulate, responsible reportage and discussion of national and world issues. Is it conceivable, under present circumstances, that the Junta could be instrumental in directing the oligarchic press and TV barons in more useful and responsible directions? Clearly, it is possible to argue that such expectations are hopelessly idealistic. To do so, however, may be to pre-judge the Junta on an issue which has not been adequately considered as yet. Velasco's government may have some surprises for those doctrinaire critics who see in the regime an impending fascism.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this final section I will begin by summarising the suggestions which have been made for each model type.

(i) The Campesino

(a) Nuclear centres and resource personnel in rural areas, supplying total developmental programmes to Campesino communities, at adult and school-age levels simultaneously.

(b) Emphasis on media-programming and technological resources, rather than large supplies of poorly-trained manpower.

(c) Involvement of other societal sectors in literacy programmes and other schemes of rural improvement.

(d) Emphasis in all educational and developmental planning on the cultural perspectives of the Campesino, particularly with regard to his attachment to the land.

(ii) The Rural Marginal

(a) Training related to job-needs and stability.

(b) Literacy programmes separated from existing primary curricula.

(c) Home training for women, providing assistance in learning the roles of mother and wife in nuclear family life.

(d) Centres providing for transitional acculturation of the young, with a view to entry into the national school system.

(iii) The Rural Proletarian

(a) Comprehensive schooling projects aimed at utilizing the advantages offered by the enclave ecological situation, and breaking down inequalities of opportunity implicit in enclave hierarchies.

(b) Greater exploitation of foreign-trained personnel and enclave facilities.

(c) The creation of diversified programmes in higher education.

(d) Follow-up programmes based on cultural understandings of the Obrero and his situation, aimed at decreasing his instability.

(iv) The Urban Marginal

(a) Creation of educational centres providing open-ended training. This would begin at the most rudimentary levels, and offer programs combining literacy training, vocational, technical and sub-professionally oriented courses, and social studies geared to the particular problems and needs of the barriada dweller.

(b) Overall developmental planning, relating work-opportunities to the above programmes.

(v) The Urban Proletariat

(a) Comprehensive, multi-lateral schooling, aimed at reducing considerations of privilege and social stratification in secondary education.

(b) Reducing the present excessive emphasis on general academic studies in secondary education, and relating secondary programmes instead to societal needs for technical and sub-professional trained personnel.

(vi) The Middle Classes

(a) Revision of the curricula and examination system with a view to:

i.. improving standards in pre-university studies

ii. emphasizing ability rather than class factors in educational activities

iii. teacher-training programmes which aspire to widen the students' cultural and educational perspectives, by approaching teacher-training holistically

iv. Greater specialization in secondary studies at the higher stages, with a view to reducing the present emphasis on the Arts and Humanities

v. Diversification of university programmes and systems of certification, to emphasize sub-professional and technical qualifications, particularly at the sub-degree level.

(vii) The Oligarquia

(a) Greater rationalization of post-secondary programmes in business and commerce.

(b) Increased government control of oligarchically-controlled media.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

As a final consideration, some areas in which research is needed are indicated.

I. What correspondences, and kinds of correspondences, exist between membership of model types and educational progress? It is necessary here to know how the group of secondary students in public schools is composed, in terms of class and cultural grouping, and of demographic and geographic distribution. It is clear from present statistical trends that a large majority of secondary graduates have passed through the public school system: this implies that such students come from origins other than middle-class or oligarchic. Precise data pertaining to such cultural origins would be generally helpful: specifically, it might reveal links between sub-cultural membership and formal

educational achievement. To review such data as it applied to each of the seven model types might also show which cultural variables are consistently linked to either success or failure in the schools.

II. The studies of teacher value-orientations in Brazil conducted by Gouveia clearly indicated how formal education may have limited effect even when adequate funds and facilities are made available. Similar research is needed in the Peruvian case. Not only would the findings of such study provide solid data in an area where there is at present little but unsupported speculation: it might also point up some specifically local factors in the case of Peru, which differed from the findings for Brazil.

III. The model type for the middle class was formulated on the assumption that this group selectively internalises traits of North American culture, particularly with regard to consumer patterns, while adhering to '<u>criollo</u>' norms and values. While this is felt to adequately reflect the existing situation, it is also true that the middle class is increasingly composed of first-generation arrivistes whose early socialization may not have involved middle class membership. It is also possible that the degree of acculturation in North American culture patterns may have been seriously underrated in my formulation of this model type. Quijáno (1967) for example, claims that the Peruvian middle class is more corrupt, and less influenced by traditional hispano-american values, than is the case in Argentina and Uruguay, because of its sudden and recent expansion. Thus it is necessary to know more about modern '<u>Criollismo</u>'. Such research might be directed towards studies of generation differences, particularly with regard to value-orientations and patterns of social interaction. Correspondences between class-membership and occupations might well indicate

a degree of variability so marked that the notion of a single model type would have to be abandoned.

IV. The studies by Dietz and Mangin of the Urban Marginal type must be regarded as exploratory and provisional. Further research is badly needed here to ascertain the nature of barriada groupings. It may well be that Dietz's description of the barriada dweller are true only of certain elements. Here it would be helpful to establish a continuum, the poles of which might represent Dietz's view of barriada life as a functional response to the problems brought about by urbanization, and Lewis's criteria for membership of the 'culture of poverty', since these two seem in most respects opposed. If barriada communities were mapped along such a continuum, according to such variables as average age, family size, occuption or the lack of it, type of habitation, effort-optimism as against apathy, and community cohesiveness, a picture of the barriadas might emerge which would reveal a more heterogenous pattern than is at present believed to exist. As with the middle class, this could lead to refinement or possibly abandonment of the model type as it has defined here.

V. In discussing the Urban Proletarian as a model type, it has been assumed that blue-collar occupations and union membership are typical traits of this type. This calls for empirical verification. If, for example, it could be shown that many Peruvians in the larger urban communities had life-styles similar to the blue-collar worker, even though they followed menial white-collar occupations or were non-union, unskilled wage labourers, this would point to a serious weakness in the model type as formulated.

In general, then, research would be most usefully directed towards testing the model type definitions empirically. As was emphasized

in the first chapter of this thesis, such studies might reveal so many anomalies and exceptions that the model types would have to be drastically revised, or perhaps abandoned. It might be demonstrated that they were not, as I have argued, 'on the whole true'. This, if it proved to be the case, would not invalidate the approach taken in this thesis: it would rather vindicate it. The ordering of a society into heuristically abstract sub-cultural groupings provides a framework for operational testing. The new formulations which must inevitably result from such testing would provide a cultural map which has not been available in the past. To those charged with plotting schemes of education and development for Peru, such a perspective would be of the utmost utility: the present study is conceived as a first step in this direction.

SECTION I

PERUVIAN UNIVERSITY PROBLEMS

Let us begin the enumeration of present problems and issues affecting our universities by referring first to the ones centered around the curriculum.

In the modern world, post-secondary education has been greatly diversified. The curricula of institutions of higher learning vary a great deal so as to make possible training in a great variety of professions. Moreover, the level of post-secondary training varies a great deal. Universities have departed from the traditional models to cope with emerging needs of a very different nature. There are, to cite only a few examples, junior colleges, agricultural colleges, universities for adult education, and even finishing schools. The Peruvian university has, on the contrary, one and only one pattern. It devotes itself consistently to the training of individuals in the fields of the traditional liberal professions. Although a school for social science has been in operation for about 25 years, although two new technical universities have been established in 1959 and 1960, in Ayacucho and Huancayo, the traditional pattern prevails. This is perhaps one of the main problems of present-day education in my country. Generally speaking, a Peruvian student, after secondary school, has no choice but to attempt the entrance examinations at a university. Secondary education, to all intents and purposes, leads him necessarily to a liberal profession. The result is first, that universities are overcrowded, and, second, that the liberal professions are oversaturated with a kind of intellectual proletariat. The roots of the problem are intricate indeed. Theoretically, secondary education should be an end in itself, a finishing stage for a number of students; it has to be, simultaneously, a preparatory period for further education. The fact is however that the Peruvian secondary school has stuck to its traditional goal of laying the foundation for a liberal education. In spite of all our efforts and reforms, our secondary education is nothing more than the antechamber of the liberal professions. There is no doubt that our post-secondary education should be diversified, allowing students of different talents and backgrounds to undertake professions other than the traditional ones. University education in a strict sense should be reserved to that type of formation that builds a given specialization upon philosophical bases, i.e., comprehensive views of the whole realm of human thought.

1. Fernandini, C.C., "Peruvian University Problems": Higher Education in Latin America, ed. M. Cordozo, Catholic University of America Press, 1961.

The one thing that most quickly attracts the notice of the observer of our university curriculum is the abundance of courses of a very general character. Courses such as Introduction to Philosophy, History of Law, General Sociology, etc. are the predominant components of our curricula. This goes back to our colonial traditions, when the courses taught at the university were very wide in their contents. I am not going to deny that the feature I am speaking about has a positive value. Courses of this kind give the students a broad view of the problems of a given discipline and help them to avoid the vices of narrow specialization. But it is also undeniable that we should have more courses of a specific character, which should be included in the later stages of the curriculum. I mean to say that what is needed is a greater number of courses, let us say, on Whitehead rather than on History of Contemporary Philosophy, on Grotius rather than on History of Law, on the Administration of Programs for Economic Development rather than on Economic Theories. This problem is, of course, closely related to the problem of the availability of professors adequately trained in their special fields of knowledge. There is not a sufficient number of professors, and this again leads to very difficult practical problems. Be that as it may, the fact that the university has only recently begun to diversify the contents of its curriculum so as to include in it subjects bearing on concrete and specialized problems, reveals that the university is now at a decisive turning point. Historically speaking, courses of a general character precede the ones dealing with specialized subjects. Monographic courses are a later development. The Peruvian universities are now trying to find their way in order to expand their academic programs. Two important facts must be mentioned in this connection. First, there is a trend, which an examination of the yearly courses of study of our university reveals to be a steadily growing one, towards the embodiment of monographic courses. Second, this tendency has had its origins in the faculties of letters, mainly in the departments of philosophy. We should not be surprised: philosophy has always been a main concern of our universities. May I express in passing the personal opinion that the older and more deeply rooted a tradition, the more sensitive it is to the call of renewal.

As contrasted with the U.S. university curriculum, ours is rather rigid. Generally speaking, students have to accept

predetermined curricula. This, of course, limits the possibility of increasing the opportunities for specialization open to our students and restricts their future professional activities. However, I personally would not favor in Peru the system that allows students to choose courses amongst a variety of subject matters offered to them. To begin with, this is a very expensive system, which we cannot afford. Second, it requires services of guidance, supervision, and tutoring. Apart from this, optional courses should be confined in Peru to the advanced levels of the university course. What we lack, and what constitutes a very serious deficiency, are institutes in which the students could specialize after finishing their professional careers. A physician, let us say, wishing to specialize in child psychiatry, finds no place in the country in which he can further his studies. He has to resort to a foreign university, to a grant or fellowship, or to training under a professional who has already specialized in the field. The need for encouraging international grants and fellowships needs no further mention.

Lectures are all-important in our universities, and the lectio leaves little room for the disputatio. A professor usually displays without any interruption his impeccable eloquence and wisdom when delivering a lecture. Again, this is a feature rooted in the colonial university; it is in accordance with the practice of European universities, although it frequently displeases U.S. scholars traveling to the south. May I say that I believe in the virtues of the lectio for certain purposes, although I gladly admit that the disputatio should be given more room in our practices. A university course is indeed that one which allows a student to go into the whys of his learning. More than that, a university course nowadays should emphasize the moral responsibilities of science, and the ethical imperatives of the professions. But, again, this involves personnel and money. There is no doubt that students should be given the feel of the philosophical side of their disciplines, and the ethics attached to their professions. This can be done only by dividing students in small groups. There is a problem here that the Peruvian university will not be able to solve for the time being.

Very often the treatment of the subject of the lecture is brilliant. What characterizes the lecture in a Peruvian university is the taste professors and students usually display for abstraction and ideas of a general nature. In this sense,

they still stick to the preferences of our old colonial masters. With its windows closed to the outside world, the colonial university retreated to intellectual exercises. As a matter of fact, this proneness to abstractions divides Peruvian scholars from their U.S. colleagues, who in general are fond of inductive reasoning. I gladly admit that in our practices the danger of verbalism is self-evident. However, and take this only as a personal and controversial opinion, abstractions are not bad in themselves. I hold the conservative opinion that the transfer of learning is quite possible, and that subjects such as Latin, mathematics, and grammar, if properly taught, contribute to the understanding of specialized subjects. Dear colleagues of the United States: I beg you not to become irritated with the Latin-American generalist because he frequently escapes from facts and because he occupies himself with a great variety of tasks. He has to do so; first, he is imbued in his traditions, traditions not lacking in certain values; second, because the dearth of qualified personnel in Latin America, as contrasted with the great number of U.S. specialists able to cope with concrete problems, forces him to this path of action.

This leads us to the problem of research in our universities. Research is certainly one of the essential functions of any university nowadays. Research was conspicuously absent from Peruvian universities until the recent past. Nowadays, they have begun to engage in research. Why so late? My answer to this is that Peruvian universities have had no stimulus in the past to do research. For a number of reasons, the society in which they functioned did not impose on them the need of undertaking research projects. Society was static, its ladders fixed, the economic and political needs of the ruling élite were met without any need of resorting to universities. A conservative, agricultural economy does not make demands for research of any university. This is true everywhere and always. Remember that research programs were launched at U.S. universities only at the beginning of this century. Research was quite in order in the medieval university, and in the European university of the late nineteenth century. It flourishes in times of crises, of political, economic, and technological turmoil. What I am trying to say is that whenever a scholar from the United States criticizes a Latin-American university because of the

weakness of its research activities, he is overlooking an important fact, namely, that an educational institution does what history and society permit it to do. There are some unsurmountable social barriers. In short, the shortcomings of our universities in research practices constitute one of their main drawbacks. But research work is already in process. May I point out, as an example, the investigations of the dean of the School of Medicine, Doctor Alberto Hurtado, in the field of high altitude biology. These investigations have been of outstanding value for aviation medicine in the United States, and Doctor Hurtado's Institute has been loudly praised by American scientists.

It is not that the Peruvian university is not now willing to do research. It is that not even the basic professional aspects of university training have been entirely solved. It is that research is costly. It is that university research does not develop unless other social agencies push it to do this kind of a job.

Another important issue, in this connection, is that Peruvian universities do not carry on sufficient research in fields related to national problems. By tradition, our universities have kept themselves aloof from surrounding realities. We must surmount this traditional barrier which prevents our university from keeping pace with the outside social developments of contemporary Peru. Research in the field of social sciences is particularly needed. The problems are here many and very difficult indeed. Money and lack of trained personnel are the least of the difficulties, of which perhaps the most important is the distrust of the university on the part of the established élite. The university has become a symbol of a dangerous leftism. To this I shall return.

I turn now my attention to the students. You all are aware of the fact that "population explosion" is under way in Latin America. This fact, combined with the expansion of secondary education I mentioned before, has resulted in a similar explosion in the university population. When I entered San Marcos University, almost thirty years ago, there were two thousand students in it; today, registration amounts to fifteen thousand. I don't need to go into the administrative and teaching problems caused by this. The important fact to be stressed in this connection is that the affluence of students caused a lowering of academic standards, not only

because of their numbers, but also because of the insufficient preparatory training they bring to the university. However, there is a positive side to the increase in registration, namely, that more and more of the students come from middle and lower classes. Society as a whole is being embodied in the university. The academic crises brought about by this deluge will be solved perhaps in the next generation.

It is well known that students are politically minded in the Latin-American universities. This is one of the most tremendous problems of our universities today. In explanation I would say that politics is a major concern of any country undergoing a period of profound social and economic change. As I said before, students are coming to the university from the lower levels of society. In the university they find an atmosphere of freedom which encourages their protest against vested interests, a protest frequently colored by demagoguery. This is why ruling élites look with suspicion on the university. This is why students, anxious to hold power, resort to the demand to be allowed to participate in the administration of the universities. In the opinion of the most distinguished scholars of Peru, political partisan activities within the university should be stopped, and I quite agree with this. May I say however that this problem is not, strictly speaking, a university problem. It will become less acute when political parties develop, when democracy becomes stronger and better established, when the fear of dictatorship is vanquished. In the meantime much effort will have to be expended in order to keep the university free from phenomena such as students' strikes, assemblies degenerating into mob riots, and political harangues. This effort is indispensable nevertheless, because one of the capital responsibilities of the university, if it is to meet the demands of modern Peru, is to raise the quality of academic training.

Lack of adequate buildings, laboratories, textbooks, teaching aids, etc., are a consequence of financial difficulties. Perhaps a reference to the sources of financial support of Peruvian universities is in order to illustrate the case. American higher education has four main sources of financial support: endowment, taxes paid by the public, tuition fees paid by the students, and research contracts made by the university with private and public agencies. These

sources not only explain the wealth of U.S. universities, they also show the variety of ways in which they are integrated with the surrounding society. They reflect the interest the public has in universities. In Peru, state universities derive most of their support from annual subsidies granted by the state. Endowments nowadays amount to little or nothing and tuition fees represent three to four per cent of the total budget. The state is far from wealthy, and its contributions to university education are correspondingly meager. But perhaps more important than this is the distance that ruling classes are now putting between themselves and the university -- a distance which finds expression in their failure to support the institution by endowment or by cooperation with private enterprise. I would not like to give the impression that I am putting all the blame on people outside the university. Perhaps the university itself is responsible for the situation. The analysis of the question would require a time that I now lack.

If I were asked to state in a few words the essence of the task which confronts the Peruvian university today, I would say that our university must attempt to train new groups of leaders in the great variety of specialized disciplines needed by the country for its cultural, economic, and social development. To give a new etymological shade of meaning to the work of the university, these institutions should be universal in their work of forming leaders from a student body drawn from all levels of society. Search for talent, research centered around national realities, preservation of its nature as a "universal kingdom of knowledge," and of freedom, these are our tasks. The responsibilities of our universities are not only academic, they are also civic. In the 19th century, some of our countries oscillated between dictatorship and chaos. I firmly believe that the formation of well-trained university élites will prevent this in the future. Last but not least, I would like to say that our responsibilities consist of keeping alive our traditions and at the same time allowing them to meet contemporary needs.

APPENDIX
SECTION II

General secondary schools

General secondary education is provided in national colleges, private colleges, evening and night schools and in the comprehensive schools (*grandes unidades escolares* or GUE). These GUE are intended to meet all the scholastic requirements of the school population of the area they serve, and provide, in addition to a primary and general secondary education, vocational secondary education of a commercial, industrial or agricultural nature, depending on the special character and needs of the district in question. In other words, no one shall be under the necessity to leave his home district in order to obtain the schooling he desires.

In order to qualify for entry into a secondary school the intending pupil must be between 12 and 16 years of age as at his birthday in the year in which he seeks admission, and as attested by his birth certificate, and submit an official certificate attesting the satisfactory completion of the sixth year of primary education. He must pass a test of mental maturity in accordance with the standards laid down by the Decree of 15 February 1949, present a certificate of good conduct, signed by the headmaster of his former school, and be in possession of a certificate of good health issued by the School Health Service.

In accordance with Decree No. 10 (15 March 1957), secondary education constitutes a stage in scholastic education to which every Peruvian adolescent has a right, inasmuch as it represents an important element in his complete training as a human being and as a member of society; it also qualifies him for entry into a profession or for some other gainful occupation.

From the point of view of training an adolescent for a future career, the aim of secondary education should be to bring out his bent or interests, discover where his vocation lies and direct his abilities to the occupation in adult life for which he is best suited by his qualifications and in which he can be of real service to the community.

In the organization of secondary education, the adolescent's personal and scholastic interests should be the decisive factor. One of its main aims should be to teach the pupil to think, that is to say to develop his capacity to observe and reason, to express himself clearly, and to acquire the habits of work and study.

Secondary studies should also pursue the following practical objectives: to provide all adolescents with the general basic culture needed to fit them into Peruvian life; to prepare young people for posts in community services and in commerce; to develop and widen, for those that desire it, the necessary background for more advanced studies.

Secondary education covers a period of 5 years and embraces two study cycles, the first basic and general, which lasts for 3 years, and the second specialized, which lasts for 2 years. The latter contains provision for arts (cultural history, sociology, geography) or science (mathematics, biology, physics, chemistry) or commerce and administration (book-keeping, office practice, correspondence, elementary law). The time-table for all general secondary schools is as follows.

TIME-TABLE OF GENERAL SECONDARY COURSE
(in periods per week)

Subject	Basic cycle (year)			General subjects included in specialization cycle (year)	
	1	2	3	4	5
Spanish and Spanish literature	4	4	4	4	2
Mathematics	5	4	4	4	
Foreign language	3	3	3	3	3
History of Peru	3	3	3	3	–
World history	–	3	3	–	–
Geography of Peru	3	–	–	–	–
Natural science	–	4	4	–	–
Civics	–	–	2	–	3
Religion	1	1	1	1	1
Applied physio-chemistry	–	–	–	2	–
Political economy	–	–	–	–	3
Elementary psychology, logic, ethics	–	–	–	–	4
World geography	3	–	–	–	–
Fine arts	3	3	3	3	3
Handicrafts	2	2	2		
Physical training	2	2	2	2	2
Pre-military training or domestic science	2	2	2	2	2
Pupil guidance	1	1	1	1	1
Guided studies and educational activities as per syllabus	6	6	4	5	4
Specialized course in arts or science or commerce and administration	–	–	–	8	10
Total	38	38	38	38	38

Guided studies take the following main forms: practical work during the hours allotted to each subject; organized study in the hours allotted to the library with the assistance of the librarian and the advisory teachers; group studies and instruction on efficient study methods.

With a view to completing the normal curriculum of secondary school education, a flexible programme of co-curricular studies is to be laid down covering the following subjects: sociology, civics, religion, fine arts, science, and sport and recreation, without any one of them predominating.

Achievement testing. Assessment of scholastic achievement, school reports, promotion and examinations are the joint responsibility of the directors of studies, assistants, heads of courses and the teachers assigned to the psycho-pedagogic sections (responsible throughout for pupil guidance), and of the educational standards and social welfare sections in each school.

2. World Survey of Education, Vol. III., UNESCO, 1961.

pupils are awarded the *certificado de educación secundaria común completa* which gives access to all institutions of higher education.

Vocational and technical education is provided in the *institutos* (or *colegios*) *industriales*, *agropecuarios*, and *comerciales*, all of which admit pupils on the basis of the primary certificate. As in the general secondary schools, the technical course lasts over a period of five years and is divided into two cycles of three and two years respectively.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Higher education is provided in (a) universities which may be either general or technical (e.g., the National University of Engineering and the University of Agriculture); (b) in a number of 'university type institutions' (*instituciones de caracter universitario*) (such as the National School of Fine Arts, the National Conservatory of Music, and the Central Teachers College for Men which is mentioned in the University Act); (c) in various institutions providing specialized professional training at higher level (the social service schools, military academies, etc), and (d) in a number of institutions outside the university framework which provide teacher training. Most teachers for secondary and higher level are trained within the universities themselves in their faculties of education, while the urban and rural *escuelas normales* prepare primary school teachers, and the *escuelas normales superiores* and the Instituto Pedagógico Nacional train teachers for both primary and secondary schools, and also offer some courses to graduate students who wish to work in such specialized fields as pre-primary education, teacher training, the education of handicapped children, etc.

The José Paro Polytechnic School reorganized by Decree No. 22 of 25 April 1962, provides a type of education intermediate between secondary and higher level.

The first institution of higher education in Peru was the University of St. Marcos, founded in 1551 by Royal Decree. Closed at the time of the establishment of the Republic, the institution was re-inaugurated in 1861, given autonomous status in 1874 and reorganized in 1946. The National University of San Antonio Abad del Cuzco was founded as a college in 1598, given university status in 1692 and officially inaugurated in 1696. The National University of San Agustin was founded as an academy in 1821, the National University of Trujillo in 1884, and the National University of Engineering as a mining and civil engineering school in 1866. The Agricultural University was founded in 1902 at Santa Beatrice as a school of agriculture; it was moved to La Molina in 1933 and given the status of an autonomous State university in 1960.

Recent developments in higher education include the establishment of several new universities: the Peruvian University of Medical and Biological Sciences, the University of Santa Maria, the Piura Technical University, and the National University of San Luis Gonzaga, all established in 1961; and the University of the Pacific and the University of Lima in 1962. Plans are under way for the establishment of five new universities (most of them technical), to be located in the different provinces.

Legislation

The most important legislative enactment governing higher education is Law No. 13407 of 1961. It contains provisions relating to the autonomous status of the universities, establishes links between the university and the community, sets up bodies responsible for research, sets out the regulations governing teaching staff, contains provisions relating to the separation of academic and administrative affairs within the university, provides for representation of the teaching staff, students and alumni on the governing bodies, provides for the creation of university extension departments, contains provisions relating to student life and welfare, and regulates the system of grants, scholarships and other forms of student aid. The statutes promulgated by each national university follow the directions set forth in Law No. 13417 relating to the particular situation of each institution.

Policy and administration

The universities are autonomous bodies both financially and academically, and are organized as corporations of teachers, students and alumni. Their link with the community is established by a *patronato* (foundation) composed of representatives of the various sectors engaged in the work of national development. The function of the *patronato* is to protect and increase each institution's financial resources, and to advise on national, regional or local problems affecting the university. It also assists in the work of aid to students.

The link between the different universities is the Consejo Inter-Universitario (Inter-University Council), which meets once a year to discuss problems of common interest. Research in progress at the various institutions is coordinated by an Instituto General de Investigacione.

All the universities in Peru are State institutions, with the exception of the private Pontifical Catholic University of Peru; under Law No. 13417, however, it is accorded equal status with the national universities.

Each university is headed by a rector elected by a university assembly (*asamblea universitaria*) for a period of five years. The vice-rector is also elected by the assembly; he acts as legal representative of the university and presides over the meetings of the university council and assembly.

The governing bodies in each institution are the university assembly, the university council, the Consejo de Administración Economica, and the faculty councils. In addition to electing the rector and vice-rector, the university assembly has power to approve or modify the university statutes. It is composed of members of the faculty councils, and of two representatives of the Federación de Colegios de Graduados who may participate in discussions but not vote. The university council, which is responsible for academic affairs, is composed of the rector, the deans of faculties, and representatives of the teaching staff, students and alumni; the students elect one third of its members. The Consejo de Administración Economica, presided over by the rector and with representatives of the faculties and students, approves the budget each year. Each faculty or professional school is governed by

a council consisting of the dean and representatives of the teaching staff and students.

The Archbishop of Lima is Grand Chancellor of the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru, and the institution is governed by an Episcopal Council established by Decree of the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities.

The teacher training institutions come directly under the Ministry of Education.

Finance

All the institutions of higher education receive direct grants from the State, other sources of finance being special taxes, tuition fees, and endowments. Since few of the institutions have any private income and tuition fees represent only 3 to 4 per cent of their total budgets, most of their income is provided by the State. The 1962 State grant to all the universities amounted to 373,443,467 soles.

UNIVERSITY INSTITUTIONS

The universities are organized in *facultades*, *escuelas*, *institutos*, *escuelas-institutos*, *secciones*, and *departamentos*. These terms are by no means clearly defined, but some differentiation between them is nevertheless possible. The *facultad* trains the student for the exercise of a profession or prepares him for the examinations for an academic degree; it usually offers postgraduate studies and normally provides facilities for research. The *escuela* also prepares for the exercise of a profession, but usually offers a much more restricted range of studies. As an example, the Faculty of Education at the Catholic University of Peru offers a five-year course leading to the title of *profesor de educación secundaria* together with a one-year postgraduate course leading to the degree of doctor, for which candidates must prepare a thesis based on original research. The university also has an *escuela de pedagogía* which offers a three-year course leading to the title of *profesor de primaria enseñanza*; students taking this course are also required to submit a thesis, but a much less substantial contribution is required. Candidates for admission to a *facultad* must hold the secondary school leaving certificate (*certificado de educación secundaria común completa*) and in many cases must also have completed one or two years of preparatory study at university level. The course offered by an *escuela* does not normally require preparatory study, and may, in some cases, be intermediate between secondary and higher education. Several *escuelas* may be combined to form a *facultad*; in the University of Trujillo, for example, the schools of business administration, chartered accountancy, and economics together form the Facultad de Ciencias Economicas y Comerciales. The terms *instituto* and *escuela-instituto* are commonly used as synonyms of the term *escuela*, and a *seccione* is a unit within a *facultad* or an *escuela*. Thus the Facultad de Educación of the National University of San Agustin de Arequipa has a *seccione normal* which offers a three-year primary teacher training course. In some institutions the term *departamento* is used rather than *facultad*; as an example, in the National University of San Cristobal Huamanga the *escuela de servicio social*, the Instituto de Antropología and the Instituto de Educación are combined to form the Departamento de Lettras. In other universities, a *departamento* may co-ordinate the teaching of a group of related subjects in the various *facultades* or *escuelas* of the university (e.g., the Departamento de Lenguas Nacionales y Extranjeras of the National University of Arequipa).

Admission of students. The *certificado de educación secundaria común completa* qualifies its holder for admission to any institution of higher education. Students graduating from the Politécnica Nacional may enter universities, schools or institutes offering technical education.

In addition to the secondary school certificate, most Peruvian university institutions hold entrance examinations, and the national universities normally require candidates who wish to enter faculties providing professional education to first follow a preparatory course of either one or two years. These courses are usually provided in the faculties of arts or science in the same university. Candidates for admission to faculties of law or education must complete a two-year preparatory course in a faculty of arts, and the faculties of science offer propaedeutic courses (two years of pre-medical, one year of pre-pharmacy pre-dentistry, pre-chemistry and pre-veterinary medicine) together with their regular courses leading to the degree in science.

Range of studies. The programmes of study offered by the national universities normally range from the preparatory courses to postgraduate studies leading to the doctoral degree. They combine work for the academic degrees of *bachiller* and doctor with study for professional qualifications, e.g., *abogado* (lawyer), *ingeniero*, etc. The student works simultaneously towards the academic degree and the professional title, but the length of course may not necessarily be the same. Thus in the Faculty of Law at the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru, the course of study leading to the bachelor's degree in law and political science may be obtained in only three years, but the professional title of *abogado* requires two more years of study and the passing of the professional examination. In some fields the bachelor's degree may be obtained in two years but the professional qualification not until three years later; in others, the length of the courses is the same and the student receives the degree and title simultaneously, and in still others, the academic degree is awarded at the end of the course, and the professional title later after submission of a thesis. The academic degrees awarded are normally those of *bachiller* and doctor, but the National University of Engineering also awards the degree of *magister* in urban and regional planning (roughly equivalent to the master's degree).

Scholastic proficiency is assessed by means of mental and pedagogic tests designed by the psycho-pedagogic sections with the assistance of classroom teachers. Standardized mental and educational tests are used in Peru to determine intelligence and scholastic progress quotients and for determining the pupil's mental and scholastic efficiency.

At the end of each of the five grades of secondary education, decisions as to the promotion of pupils depend on an appreciation based on objective pedagogic tests, psychological probing, oral and written examinations and other tests applied and assessed by the teachers in the light of the requirements of each subject or speciality.

At the end of his course of specialized study, and provided he has passed in all subjects included in the curriculum, the student receives a *certificado de secundaria completa* (certificate of completion of secondary studies), which qualifies him for admission to any establishment of higher education.

Teaching staff. The training of general secondary school teachers is undertaken, for men, by the Enrique Guzmán y Valle teacher training college at Chosica, and for women by the Monterrico teacher training college; and also by the state universities of Mayor de San Marcos, Arequipa, Trujillo and Cuzco. In addition the Pontificia Catholic University of Peru also gives secondary school teacher training in the different subjects.

In teacher training colleges it takes 4 years to qualify as a secondary school teacher, and the student must previously have successfully completed the secondary school course. At the universities, graduation as a secondary school teacher takes 5 years, 2 in arts or science schools and 3 of specialization. In both cases a thesis must be submitted.

At the end of the 5-year course at the universities, teachers can stay on for a further year to study for their doctorate and thus qualify, after submission of a thesis, for the degree of doctor of education.

Candidates for entry into the teaching profession are admitted annually by teacher training colleges or the universities on the basis of an entrance examination consisting of oral and written tests of their secondary school grounding, supplemented by psycho-pedagogic tests, personal interviews and specific investigation of their outlook, inclinations and aptitude for the teaching profession. In appointments to the state educational service, preference is given to graduates of the teacher training colleges, since their training has been paid for by the State by means of a system of departmental scholarships. Graduate teachers from the universities also undertake to serve in public secondary schools.

Vocational and technical schools

Vocational and technical education is the responsibility of the Technical Education and Craftsmanship Development Department of the Ministry of Education. It enjoys the direct assistance and advice of the Servicio Cooperativo Peruano Norteamericano de Educación, whose specialists assist in carrying out a variety of programmes.

In 1957 a start was made with the application, to the first year of the study cycle, of the reform scheme for vocational secondary education in its four branches, to wit, industrial education for boys; industrial education for girls (home training); agricultural education; commercial education. The institutions providing these courses are known as *institutos* (or *colegios*) *industriales*, *institutos* (or *colegios*) *agropecuarios* and *institutos* (or *colegios*) *comerciales* respectively.

Successful completion of the sixth year of primary studies qualifies for admission to the first year of a vocational secondary course.

The principle of flexibility of syllabuses applies in all four branches. They should be adapted to pupil requirements and the special characteristics of the district in which the school is located.

As is the case with general secondary education, the specialized course takes 5 years, divided into 2 cycles, the first of which provides a 3-year course in basic vocational training for skilled workmen, while the other, which is specialized and takes 2 years, is intended for the training of technicians.

Each of the cycles in vocational education now carries the same weight as the corresponding cycle on the general side. Hence, the general cultural subjects forming part of the basic cycle are the same in both branches, subject to adaptation to the needs of the special course in question.

Among the aims of vocational secondary education,

GLOSSARY

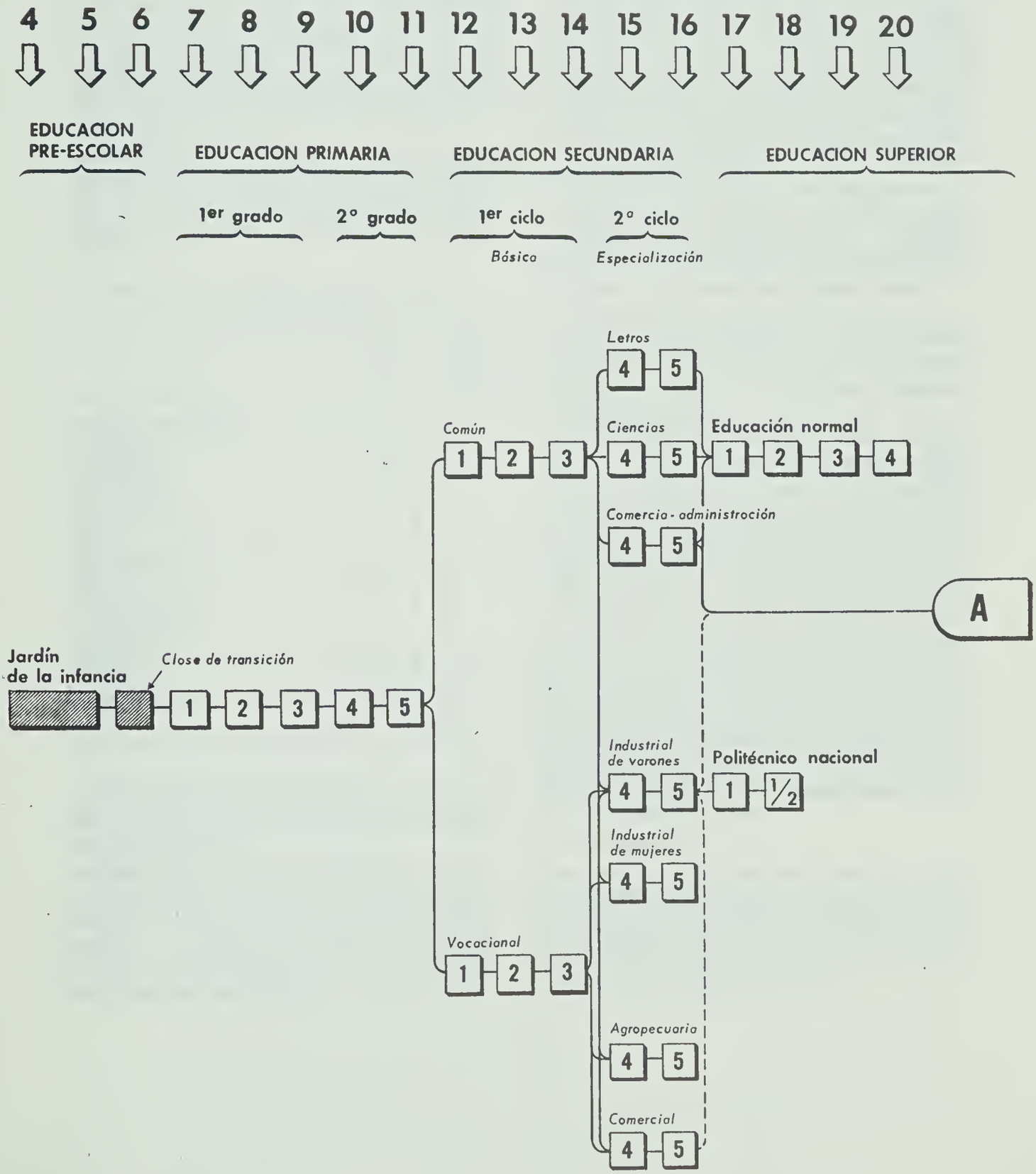
NOTE. The accompanying diagram omits various specialized schools including schools of music and art.

agropecuaria: agricultural course.
ciencias: science course in upper cycle of general secondary school.
clase de transición: infant class forming a transition from kindergarten to formal schooling.
comercial: commercial course.
comercio-administración: course in commerce and administration in upper cycle of general secondary school.
común: general secondary education.
educación normal: teacher training.
educación pre-escolar: pre-primary education.
educación primaria: primary education comprising a first and second stage (*grado*) of 3 and 2 years respectively.
educación secundaria: secondary education, organized in a first or basic cycle (*ciclo básico*) of 3 years and a second cicle of differentiated studies (*ciclo de especialización*) of 2 years.
educación superior: higher education.
industrial de mujeres: technical course for girls.
industrial de varones: technical course for boys.
jardín de la infancia: kindergarten.
letras: literacy course in upper cycle of general secondary school.
Politécnico Nacional (National Polytechnic): advanced vocational training school.
vocacional: vocational secondary education.

A. Universities and colleges.

LEVELS AND KINDS OF EDUCATION IN PERU

Fig. V.



mention may be made of the following: to direct the energies of the population to the improvement of their living conditions; to train executives capable of exploiting our natural resources; to develop in the population an interest in industry and other productive activities; to direct pupils to the various fields of technology; to train the requisite personnel for industry and the specialists required for the establishment of new industries; to promote an increase in production and generalize the use of new working methods and methods of production and distribution.

Since the general and vocational branches of secondary education are of equal standing, it is easy for students desiring to do so, to transfer at any stage in the course from one branch to the other, without any other difficulty than the need to catch up in subjects missed owing to differences in the curricula. The following is a typical syllabus.

TIME-TABLE OF INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR BOYS
(in periods per week)

Subject	Basic cycle (year)			Specialization cycle (year)	
	1	2	3	4	5
Spanish and Spanish literature	3	3	3	–	–
Mathematics	4	4	3	4	4
Foreign language	2	2	2	2	2
History of Peru	2	2	2	–	–
World history		1	1	–	–
World geography	1	–	–	–	–
Geography of Peru	2	–	–	–	–
Natural science	–	2	2	–	–
Civics	–	–	1	–	–
Religion	1	1	1	–	–
Applied physio-chemistry	–	–	–	4	4
Political economy	–	–	–	2	–
Fine arts	1	1	1	–	–
Physical training	2	2	2	2	2
Pre-military training	2	2	2	2	2
Workshop organization	–	–	–	2	–
Labour legislation	–	–	–	–	2
Technical drawing	2	2	2	2	2
Technology	2	2	2	3	3
Workshop practice	14	14	14	14	14
Pupil guidance	1	1	1	1	1
Guided studies	–	–	–	1	3
Total	39	39	39	39	39

The main subjects in the industrial course for boys are general mechanics including use of bench tools, ironworking and welding, smelting, carpentry, electricity, electronics and motor engineering.

The industrial course for girls comprises dressmaking, embroidery, weaving and the decorative arts.

In commercial secondary education the course provides training in: commerce, for intending commercial assistants, salesmen, advertising agents, co-operative organizers, merchants or contractors; book-keeping, for intending cashiers, assistant book-keepers, day book-keepers, book-keepers; secretary-correspondents, as shorthand and copy-typists and commercial secretaries.

The agricultural secondary course comprises training in agriculture and animal husbandry.

In the industrial schools (boys and girls) and the agricultural schools a competency certificate in the student's particular trade speciality is awarded at the end of the third year and a technician's diploma at the end of the fifth. In the commercial schools competency certificates are granted at the end of the second year for commercial assistants, at the end of the third year in copy- or shorthand-typing, at the end of the fourth year in book-keeping, and at the end of the fifth year students may obtain a diploma either in book-keeping or in commercial technology or as a commercial secretary.

At the end of the 5 years of vocational education, the student can enter the National Polytechnic, certain institutions of higher education, or one of the specialized university schools (university schools of engineering, agriculture, veterinary school, etc.). For this purpose they must pass the respective examinations, based on standards laid down for each establishment of higher education.

Teaching staff. The teaching staff of an agricultural school consists of secondary school teachers, who have graduated from teachers' training colleges (for courses in general education), and professional agronomic engineers with experience in conducting technical courses in agriculture and animal husbandry.

The staff of industrial schools for women consists of graduates of the Escuela Normal Técnica Femenina (teachers' vocational training school for women) and other specialists who have taken courses in in-service training for teachers. During the first years of the reorganization scheme for technical education, the staff of vocational schools for boys was recruited from the ranks of artisans, graduates of the schools of arts and crafts, and engineers and teachers from secondary schools. A universally applicable training scheme was worked out concerned both with matters relating to the aims of technical education and with the improvement of the teacher's knowledge of special subjects. This training was largely carried out by means of summer school and other courses, run for serving teachers. One of the features of this period was that two different types of teacher were employed for imparting technical knowledge: one for practical work in the shops, and the other for theoretical instruction in handicrafts. Later, there was a radical change in the situation in that the technical department of the teacher training college took over the training of teachers. At the present time, the majority of the staff (80 per cent) have been trained and hold scholastic diplomas, or are attending training courses at the above-mentioned college.

Teacher training schools

Decree No. 37 of 15 September 1959 provides for a 3-year training course for primary school teachers, who must have completed 5 years of secondary education. The certificate awarded is that of *normalista* (first class) (graduate of a teacher training school); hence it will be seen that the former differentiation between urban and rural teacher training schools is completely eliminated.

APPENDIX

SECTION III

LAW OF AGRARIAN REFORM

DECREE 17716 24.6.1969.

A Paraphrase

TITULO I

(i).....The Agrarian Reform is an integral process and an instrument for the transformation of the nation's agrarian structure, destined to substitute a just system of ownership, tenancy, and land use for the latifundio and minifundio regimes at present existing. The reform is intended to create an agrarian order in which social justice will be guaranteed, and producation increased, so that the land will provide, for he who works it, the basis of economic stability and well-being, and a guarantee of dignity and freedom.

(ii)... The reform is conceived as part of a national plan for rural populations, in which rural education, technical assistance, credit mechanisms, agricultural studies, exploitation of natural resources, urban planning, and expanding national health programme, and state mechanisms for commercial development, are related elements.

(iii).. In accordance with these aims, the reform must

(a) regulate the right to land tenure to serve the social interest,

(b) spread and consolidate small and medium-sized properties worked directly by the owners,

(c) guarantee the communal rights of peasant communities to their lands,

(d) stimulate cooperative organization,

(e) assure adequate conservation and use of natural resources,

(f) regulate land contracts and eliminate indirect exploitation of those who work the land,

(g) regulate rural work structures with the aim of abolishing land rents in return for work rendered,

(h) stimulate production,

(i) make credit available to the peasant, and

(j) establish plans of compensation for drought and other natural disasters.

(iv)

(v)

(vi)....The state assumes the obligation of financing the reform, and declares all farming and cattle operations subject to the law.

TITULO III

Capitulo I

Afectación entails the appropriation of lands and their consequent awarding to peasants according to the terms of the decree. Any person who buys land in the future may do so only within the limits defined by the decree.

Capitulo II

It shall be considered that land is not being used in accordance with the social interest when:

(a) it is abandoned or inadequately exploited,

(b) it is worked under socially unjust conditions, or

(c) in contradiction to labour laws,

(d) when land is so concentrated that the population residing on said land are excessively dependent on the owner,

(e) when fragmentation of the land leads to a poor use of natural resources,

(f) lands controlled by non-owner operators will be afectados when they do not exceed a size triple that of the family unit determined for each zone

(g) when land does not provide sufficient family units for the labourers at present working on it, not only that land but other lands of the owner will be afectados

(h) lands controlled by non-owner operators which exceed a size triple that of the family unit for the zone, will be considered afectados: however, the operator will be allowed to choose a portion of family unit size for himself.

Articulo 20

Owner-operators are defined as those who work the land personally or with their families, when this is their basic economic activity, and when the area involved does not exceed triple the size of the decreed family unit.

Owner-operators should control the means of financing their operations, and should not own more than one property.

Commercial firms may not own rural lands, and must convert themselves into sociedades de personas within six months of the date of the decree; otherwise, the property will be confiscated and a fine of 50% of the land value will be levied.

Articulo 28

Coastal farm properties operated by the owners will be afectados in so far as they exceed 150 hectares of irrigated land. Under certain conditions, this kind of property will be afectado insofar as it exceeds 200 hectares.

Articulo 29

Cattle ranches in the coastal region will be inafectados for up to 1,500 hectares. This figure may be tripled or quadrupled if the conditions specified in this article, (but not stated here) are met.

Articulo 30

Lands under irrigation in the Sierra and the Selva will be considered inafectibles according to the table specified in the decree, p. 28. This figure may be doubled or tripled if the conditions specified in this article are met. Dry lands are inafectibles to double the extent of irrigated lands.

Articulo 33

Pasture land in the sierra and the ceja de la selva are inafectible to the extent that it can support 5,000 ovine units: one such unit represents an animal of 35 kilograms, or five pounds of wool per annum.

Articulo 37

When a farm property supplies crops to an industrial plant, the entire operation, including the plant will be afectado, even though part of the operation is located on other properties. This need not apply if the Directors of the reform consider that the crop is not indispenable to the industrial plant.

When agro-industrial operations are expropriated, the operation will continue, under the same administrative and technical direction. The levels of salaries and wages will remain at least the same as before, and the workers will share in the profits of the operation.

Articulo 41

Land which cannot be used for crops or cattle operations will not be affected unless it borders on farmed land.

TITULO IV

Zones of Afectabilidad will be defined by supreme decree. Landowners must make sworn declarations containing data concerning their lands, within 60 days of the decree. Land deeds and technical aspects of the property will then be studied. When the afectación studies have been completed, the owner will be notified of the extent and value of the land to be surrendered, and said land will then be rendered to the state within two weeks. The appointed judge will in due course award compensation to the ex-owner.
The remainder of this section is concerned with technicalities concerning the process of transfer.

TITULO VI

While decisions concerning the redistribution of lands are pending, appropriated lands will be administered by special committee, composed of:

2 members of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, one of whom will preside,
1 representative of the Banco de Fomento Agropecuario,
1 representative of the Banco de Fomento Industrial,
2 representatives of the workers of the property,
1 representative for each of the auditing agencies deemed convenient by the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries.

Articulo 77°

Land awards, (adjudicaciónes), will be made to cooperatives, peasant

communities, agricultural societies, and private persons as defined by the Dirección General of the reform. The mode of adjudicación will be determined by the above Dirección, which will take into account the sociological characteristics of the peasant groups, the quality of the land, the economy of the zone, and the type of exploitation existing or to be established.

Articulo 78°

When the adjudicación is made to personas naturales, (native persons), land will be allotted in family units.
A family unit is defined as the amount of land which, worked directly by the farmer and his family in conditions of technical efficiency, will absorb the labour capacity of the family without requiring extra labour, except at defined times, and then not exceeding a quarter of the annual labour output of the family. Such units should also provide the farmer with an income sufficient to maintain his family, keep up the payments on his land, and provide for a saving margin. Family units may not be sub-divided.

Articulo 81°

Adjudicaciónes will be effected in conjunction with rural settlement projects prepared by the Dirección General of the reform. Groups of farmers will be organized into bodies which will receive technical and credit assistance from the government.

Articulo 83°

Adjudicaciónes will entail payments stretched over twenty years. The payments may not be inferior to the amount saved annually by the adjudicatorio, (recipient of the land).

Articulo 84° &c.

Adjudicatorios must be Peruvians, heads of families, over eighteen, peasants, residents of the farm or the vicinity, and must not already own lands equal in size to that to be received. They will be selected by the Dirección General, on a sorteo (lot-drawing) basis. They must contract to work the land directly, live on or close to their land, not sell or transfer rights to the land without permission from the Dirección, before completing their payments, and must contribute in labour or kind to the communal interest. In addition, they must become members of a cooperative or sociedad de interés social, and must respect the technical and administrative directives issued by the Dirección General.
Failure to comply with the above obligations will be sufficient cause for contracts to be rescinded. This will also operate when two consecutive annual payments are owing. In the case of the death of an Adjudicatorio before payments are completed, the land will remain with his wife and family. Payments will be suspended until the eldest son becomes a person of capacidad civil, or is eighteen.

TITULO VII

Technical Assistance and Credit

Articulo 91° &c.

Technical assistance will be given according to the following set of priorities: i. cooperatives, ii. peasant communes, iii. other beneficiaries of the reform, iv. small and medium-property owners, v. rentees not included in the reform.
The government budget will provide for a sum to be allotted to the Fedeicomismo fund, for credit loans to those affected by the reform.
The Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries will form groups of technicians and peasant leaders, with the aim of promoting cooperatives and sociedades de interés social.

Provided that demands of the internal and local markets are met, cooperatives and similar societies will have priority in exporting their products.

TITULOS IX

In summary, these sections contain regulations concerning fundios, or lands smaller in area than the minimum three hectares specified for the family farm units, and private farms, i.e., those considered inafectible by the reform. Such lands may not be sold or subdivided without state approval.

TITULO X

Peasant Communities

These will be restructured and technically assisted under the aegis of the Dirección de Communidades Campesinas, an agency of the Dirección General. They will be encouraged to form into cooperatives. The lands thus defined shall not be subdivided or individually owned.

TITULO XI

Farm Renting

Lands within Reform zones may not be rented unless the owner is a minor, or is completing studies related to farming.
Beyond such zones, lands smaller than the family unit may not be rented. When renting is permitted, the lessee may not sell his produce to the lessor, or allow his products to be used in installations owned by the lessor. He may not use machines or equipment belonging to the lessor, or in any way indulge in activities which obligate him to the lessor. The lessor may not charge a rent worth more than 10% of the lessee's annual income, or eject the tenant unless rent is overdue by 54 weeks.

Capitulo II

Articulo 144.

Agro-industrial Contracts.

The Banco de Fomento Industrial will give credit preference to those industries which utilize raw materials produced by those affected by the reform.

In zones where industries exist which convert agricultural products, the producers will have the right to inspect and check any technical operations to which their products are submitted.

Contracts, the grading of produce, price-fixing, and other activities will be arbitrated by standing committees of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fishing, on which producers and industrial interests will be represented.

TITULO XII

Jurisdiction

The Agrarian Tribunal will be appointed to resolve conflicts arising from the reform legislation.

The Tribunal will consist of five vocales elected by the national executive, for six years.

In each zone, a juez de tierras (land judge), will be appointed.

He will have autonomous powers, and status equal to members of the Tribunal. His function will be to deal with land disputes at zone level. Appeal over his decisions may be made to the Tribunal, from whose decision no further appeal is possible.

Capitulo II

The Agrarian Debt

To finance the reform, the national executive authorizes the issue of bonds to the value of fifteen thousand million soles.(375 million dollars).

The bonds will be used to compensate those whose property has been expropriated. The bonds will be acceptable at 100% value in the Banco de Fomento Estatal.

TITULO XV

Preferential Rights

Standing Renters, Sharecroppers, shall be given ownership of the lands they rent, subject to expropriation of said lands by the Dirección General. Such properties shall not exceed fifteen hectares on the coast, and thirty in the Sierra and Ceja de la Selva. This applies regardless of whether the zone has been declared afected by the reform. When the 'feudal' land is not adequate to provide the renters with family-size units, neighbouring lands may be appropriated, even if this entails reducing the inafectible area remaining to the landowner.

APPENDIX

SECTION IV

RESIDENCE PATTERNS IN LIMA

Fig. 5 is a map of greater Lima-Callao. The shaded areas mark main barriadas. It may be noticed that these are generally on the peripheries of the city, except in the case of San Martin. The latter has grown up on the banks of the Rimac, in the wasteland which lies between Lima and Callao, and north of the industrial sector which lies along, and to the south of, Avenida Argentina. South of La Victoria and West of Paseo de la Republica are other industrial areas, as is the area north of Rimac.

La Victoria and Callao are proletarian localities, although both contain many slums and callejones, and are focal centres for transitory and criminal elements.

The area between Callao and Chorillos is typically middle-class suburban, although members of the middle class proper as defined in this study, will tend to locate in the area termed San Isidro, which also includes Miraflores and San Antonio.

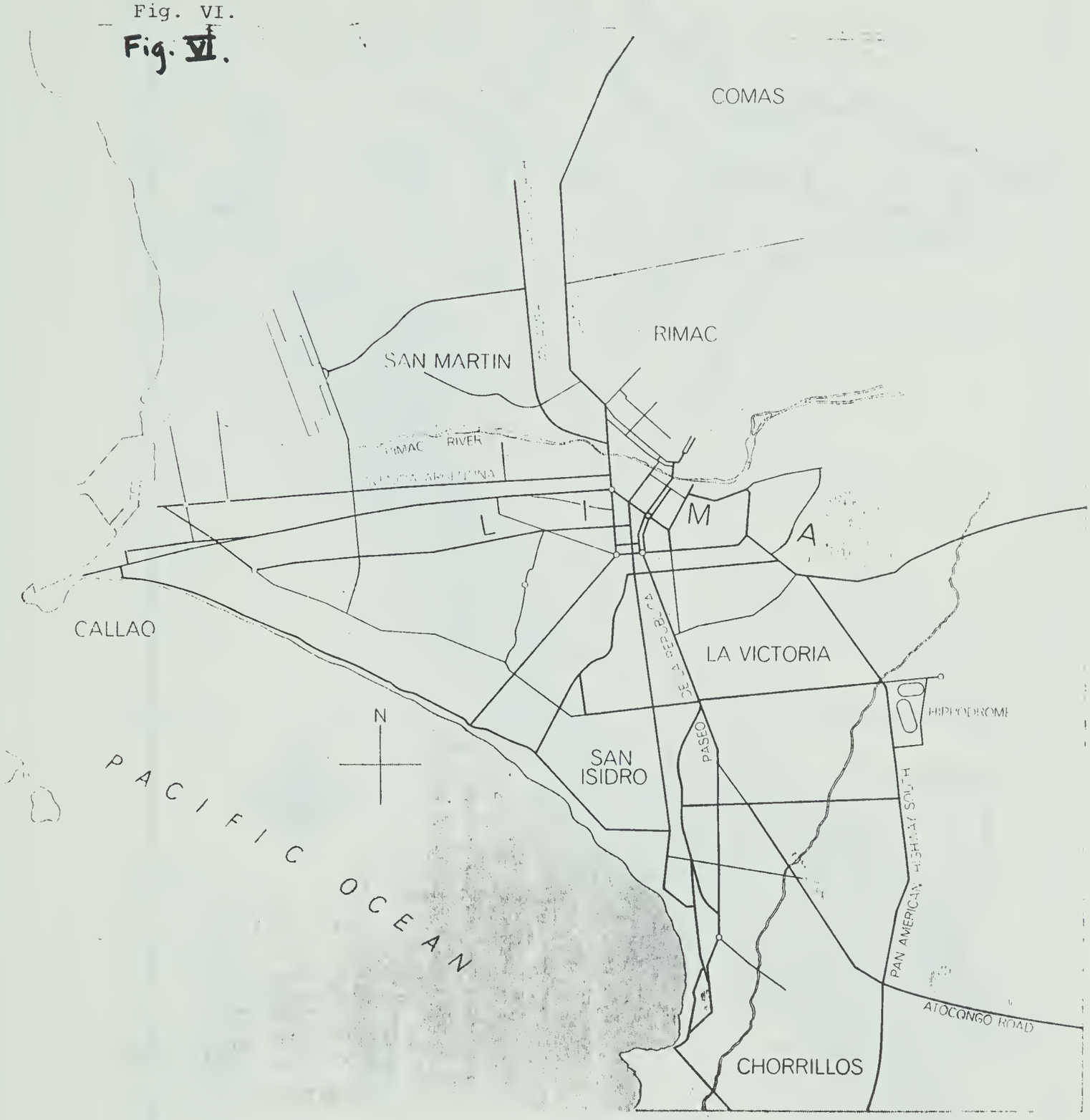
Newer suburbs for more affluent elements of the middle classes are located in the area east of La Victoria, typically in Monterico and Caserilla Estanque.

Further east lie Chaclacayo and Chosica, which are middle class dormitory suburbs.

RESIDENCE PATTERNS IN LIMA

Fig. VI.

Fig. VI.



BARRIADAS of the city of Lima and its outskirts (*color*) shelter some 450,000 squatters who began to establish rent-free communities in 1945 on unoccupied hillsides north and south of the Rimac River. Now major *barriadas* also occupy both sides of the river downstream toward the port of Callao; a 20-kilometer stretch of the Pampa de Comas, including some agricultural land, along the road north to Canta, and hillsides bordering the road south to Atocongo, adjacent to the richest residential district in the Peruvian capital.

W. Whyte (1969)

FIG. VII.


Peru
QUITO
Ecuador
Colombia
Brazil
Bolivia
Guayaquil
TUMBES
Zarumilla
Talara
PIURA
Sechura
Olmos
LAMBAYEQUE
CHICLAYO
CAJAMARCA
Santa Cruz
Jaen
AMAZONAS
CHACHAPOYAS
Rioja
MOYOBAMBA
SAN MARTIN
LA LIBERTAD
TRUJILLO
Chimbote
ANCASH
HUARAZ
Huari
Mt HUASCARAN 22,205 ft
HUANUCO
Tingo Maria
PASCO
Yanahuanca
CERRO DE PASCO
Junin
San Ramón
JUNIN
LIMA
Ancon
CALLAO
San Lorenzo I.
Cañete
Chincha Islands
Pisco
ICA
HUANCAYO
Concepción
Pampas
HUANCAVELICA
AYACUCHO
Huancapi
APURIMAC
ABANCAY
CUZCO
Quillabamba
Urubamba
Valley of La Convención
Yanaoca
Sicuani
Santo Tomas
PUNO
Huancane
Lampa
Juliaca
LAKE TITICACA
Juli
LA PAZ
Tiahuanaco
AREQUIPA
Caraveli
Chuquibamba
Mt MISTI 20,013 ft
Matarani
Mollendo
MOQUEGUA
Ilo
TACNA
LORETO
IQUITOS
Requena
Leticia
Pucallpa
MADRE DE DIOS
PUERTO MALDONADO
Manú
Río Napo
Río Putumayo
Río Tigre
Río Pastaza
Río Amazonas
Río Yavari
Río Santiago
Río Morona
Río Marañon
Río Huallaga
Río Ucayali
Río Pachitea
Río Mantaro
Río Ene
R. Tambo
Río Urubamba
Río Apurimac
Río Pampas
Río Madre de Dios
Río Tambopata
THE ANDES
Western Cordillera
Eastern Cordillera
N
S
E
W
KEY
International frontiers
Capital cities
Departmental boundaries
Departmental headquarters
Railways
Land above 6,000 feet
Land above 12,000 feet
Miles 0 50 100 150
Kilometres 0 50 100 150 200

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, D. and R.B. Bjork. 1969 Education in Developing Areas. David McKay Co., N.Y.

Beals, R. 1953 "Social Stratification in Latin America", American Journal of Sociology, LVIII, P.327-339.

Beltran, Aguirre G. 1966 Caste and Class in Peru. Mesas Redondas de Conferencias, Lima. No.6

Benton, W. 1961 The Voice of Latin America, Harper, N.Y.

Bonilla, F. 1967 "Cultural Elites" in Elites in Latin America. S.M. Lipsit & A. Solari, Ed., Oxford University Press.

Bushnell, G.H.S. 1957 Peru. Thames and Hudson, London.

Casanova, P. 1964 "Mexico: The Dynamics of an Agrarian and Semi-Capitalist Revolution". Studies on Developing Countries. Vol. I, Warsaw: Polish Scientific Publishers.

Chaplin, D. "Blue-Collar Workers in Peru", International Journal of Comparative Sociology. X, p.31-45.

"Peru's Postponed Revolution", World Politics, p. 393-420.

Cochran, T.C. 1960 "Cultural Factors in Economic Growth", Journal of Economic History. No.20, p. 515-530.

Cornhehls, J.V. 1968 "Forecasting Education and Manpower Requirements for Economic and Social Development in Peru". Comparative Education Review, Vol. XII, p. 1-27.

Debray, R. 1967 Revolution within the Revolution. Evergreen Black Cat Press, N.Y.

Descola, J. 1968 Daily Life in Colonial Peru, 1710-1820. Macmillan,N.Y.

Dietz, H. 1969 "Urban Squatter Settlements in Peru; A Case History and Analysis". Journal of Inner-American Studies.

DuBois, C. 1955 "The Dominant Value Profile of American Culture". American Anthropologist. LVII, P. 1232-1239.

Fagen, R.R. 1964 The Political Content of Adult Education. Stanford University Press.

Faris, D.K. 1958 To Plow with Hope. Harper & Row.

Ford, T.R. 1955 Man and Land in Peru. University of Florida Press, Gainesville.

Fried. J. 1961 "The Indian and Mestizáje in Peru", Human Organization. Vol. 20, No. 1.

Galvez, J. 1947 Una Lima Que Se Va. Lima.

Gans, H. 1962 The Urban Villagers. New York Free Press.

Gouveia, A.J. 1967 "Education and Development: Opinions of Secondary Schoolteachers" in Elites in Latin America. S.M. Lipset and Aldo Solari, Oxford University Press.

Gunther, J. 1967 Inside Latin America. Harper and Row.

Hall, B. 1824 Extracts from a Journal written on the Coasts of Peru, Chilli and Mexico. Constable, Edinburgh.

Hanson, J.W. and Cole S. Brembeck. 1966 Education and the Development of Nations. Holt, Rinehart and Hinston.

Harbison, F. and C.A. Myers. 1964 Education, Manpower and Economic Growth. McGraw-Hill Co.

Harris, M. and C.A. Wagley. 1955 "A Typology of Latin American Sub-cultures". American Anthropologist. LVII, P.428-451.

Havinghurst, R.J. and J.R. Moreira. 1955 Society and Education in Brazil. University of Pittsburgh Press.

Heath, D.B., C. Erasmus, and Buechler. 1969 Land Reform and Social Revolution in Bolivia. Praeger, New York.

Haya de la Torre, V.R. 1946 c'y despues de la guerra, que? Lima. Ed. Talleres.

Holmberg, A.R. 1960 "Changing Attitudes and Values in Peru", in Social Change in Latin America Today, its Implifications for United States Policy.Publ. for the Council on Foreign Relations, 1st ed. Lyman Bryson, Harper, New York.

Horowitz, I.L. 1970 Masses in Latin America, Oxford University Press, N.Y.

Hutchins, R. 1953 The Conflict of Education in a Democratic Society, Harper, N.Y.

Lewis, O. 1968 La Vida, Vintage, New York.

Lipset, S.M. 1968 "Values, Education and Entrepreneurship", in Elites in Latin America, S.M. Lipset and Aldo Solari, Ed., Oxford University Press, N.Y.

Mangin, W.P. 1960 "Mental Health and Migration to the Cities: A Peruvian Case", Annals of New York Academy of Sciences, LXXXIV, Art. 17, p. 911-917.

Mintz, S. 1952 "The Folk-Urban Continuum and the Rural Proletarian", American Sociological Review, Vol. 17, No.5.

Nuñez del Prado. O. 1955 "Aspects of Andean Native Life", Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers, XII, p. 1-21.

Osborne, Harold. 1968 South American Mythology, P. Hamlyn Publ., Feltham, Middx.

Owens, R.J. 1963 Peru. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Oxford University Press, London.

Parma, R. 1946 Tradiciones Peruanas, Lima.

Peck, A.M. 1962 The Pageant of South American History, David McKay Co., New York.

Petras, J. and Nelson Rimensneyder. 1970 "What is Happening in Peru?" Monthly Review, February.

Petras, J. and Zeitlin, M.(Ed.). 1968 Latin America: Reform or Revolution? Fawcett, New York.

Picon-Salas, M. 1962 A Cultural History of Spanish America from Conquest to Independence, University of California Press, Berkeley.

Pike, F. 1967 The Modern History of Peru, Praeger, New York.

Obregon, Quijano A. 1968 "Tendencies in Peruvian Development and in The Class Structure" in Latin America: Reform or Revolution. Petras J., and Zeitlin, M., Ed., Fawcett, New York.

Redfield, R. 1941 The Folk Culture of Yucatan. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Robinson, D.A. 1964 Peru in Four Dimensions. Lima. American Studies Press.

Simmons, O. 1955 "The Criollo Outlook in the Mestizo Culture of Coastal Peru", American Anthropologist, LVII, p. 107-117.

Smelser, N. 1962 A Theory of Collective Behaviour. Free Press, N.Y.

Smelser, N. 1968 Essays in Sociological Explanation. Prentice Hall, N.Y.

Solari, A. 1967 "Secondary Education and the Development of Elites", in Elites in Latin America. S.M. Lipset and Aldo Solari, (Ed.), Oxford University Press.

Stavenhagen, R. 1965 Siete Tese Erroneas sobre America Latina. El Diea, Mexico.

Steward, J. 1963 "Handbook of South American Indians", Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin, 143 Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C.

Steward, J. 1950 "Area Research: Theory and Practive ", Social Science Research Council Bulletin, 63, New York.

Tschopik, H. Jr. 1948 "On the Concept of Creole Culture in Peru", Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences, 10:p.252-261.

Vitale, L. 1968 "Latin America: Feudal or Capitalist?", in Latin America: Reform or Revolution?, J. Petras and M. Zeitlin, Ed., Fawcett, New York.

Warner The Study of Social Stratification. Bobbs-Merrill Reprint S-3-3, Indianapolis.

Whyte, W.F. 1969 Politics and Land Reform in Peru. Phi Delta Kappan.

Willems, E. 1958 "Brazil", in The History of Advanced Societies. A. Rose, Ed., Minneapolis.

Wolf, E. 1955 "Types of Latin American Peasantry: A Preliminary Discussion", American Anthropologist, Vol. 57, No.3.

Wolf, E. 1966 Peasants. Prentice Hall, N.J.

PERUVIAN GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

Ministerio de Educacion-Oficina Sectorial de Planificacion; Estadistica Escolar y Proyecciones.
No. 7., July 1969.
No. 8., September 1969.

Law of Agrarian Reform, Decreto No. 17717. 24th June, 1969.

Ley General de Aguas. Decreto No. 17752. 24th June, 1969.

Ley Organica del Ministerio de Educacion. Decreto No. 17522. 21st March,1969.

Texto Integro de la Ley Organica de la Universidad Peruana, Decreto Ley No. 17437.

Sistema Nacional de Planificacion: Sector Education. 1970.

OTHER

World Survey of Education, Vols. III & IV: UNESCO, 1961.

Escuela y Revolucion en Cuba, No. I, Feb., March, 1963.